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THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

CONTAINING

THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF PARADISE LOST.

LONDON:

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PARADISE LOST,

The firſt ſix Books, with Milton's Apology for the Verſe.

THE VERSE.[1]

THE meaſure is Engliſh heroick verſe without rhyme, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin: rhyme being no neceſſary adjunct, or true ornament of poem or good verſe, in longer works eſpecially, but the invention of a barbarous age to ſet off wretched matter and lame metre; graced indeed ſince by the uſe of ſome famous modern poets, carried away by cuſtom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and conſtraint to expreſs many things otherwiſe, and for the moſt part worſe than elſe they would have expreſſed them. Not without cauſe, therefore, ſome both Italian and Spaniſh poets of prime note[2] have rejected rhyme both

[1] *The Verſe.*] The firſt edition of *Paradiſe Loſt*, in 1667, was without this preface, or apology for the verſe. In 1668, when a new title-page was prefixed to the edition, it was added with the following addreſs of the Printer to the reader: "Courteous Reader, there was no *Argument* at firſt intended to the Book; but, for the ſatisfaction of many that have deſired it, I have procured it, and withal a reaſon of that which ſtumbled many others, *why the Poem rimes not.*"

[2] —— *both Italian and Spaniſh poets of prime note*] Among the *Italians*, Triſſino and Rucellai have abandoned the uſe of rhyme: the former, in his *Italia Liberata di Goti*, an heroick poem; the

in longer and ſhorter works: as have alſo long ſince our beſt Engliſh tragedies [3]: as a thing of

latter, in a didactick poem, entitled *Le Api*, which will remain "a laſting monument that the Italian language requires not the ſhackles of rhyme to render it harmonious." Roſcoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 152. Luigi Alamanni's imitation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which appeared in 1532, and his didactick poem of *Coltivazione*, printed at Paris in 1546, are both in blank verſe. The rejection of rhyme in Italian poetry was alſo powerfully urged, in the ſixteenth century, by Felice Figlinei, who, "in his admirable Italian commentary on the *Ethicks* of Ariſtotle, enforces his advice by his own example, and tranſlates all Ariſtotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verſe without rhyme." *Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 24. The *Georgicks* of Virgil are alſo thus tranſlated. "La Georgica di Vergilio con ſciolti verſi tradutta in lingua Thoſcana dal magnifico M. Antonio Mario Negriſoli, nobile Ferrareſe. Vinegia, 1552."—Of the Origin of *Verſi Sciolti* among the Italians, ſee Walker's *Hiſtorical Memoir of Italian Tragedy*, 1799. Append. p. xx.

Among the *Spaniſh* poets, Mr. Bowle mentions Franciſco de Aldana, who tranſlated the *Epiſtles* of Ovid into Spaniſh blank verſe; and Gonſalvo Perez, who, in like manner, tranſlated the *Odyſſey* of Homer. And he adds, that Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Principe de los Poetas Caſtellanos, in the *Epiſtola* a Boſcan, folios 49, 50, 51, ed. Madrid, 1622, has given a ſpecimen of blank verſe. It ſhould be added, that Boſcan has given ſimilar ſpecimens in his poetry, and that there is alſo extant, in Spaniſh blank verſe, a poem, entitled *La Suma de Philoſophia*, by Alonſo de Fuentes of Sevile, publiſhed there in 1547. There are alſo *Dutch* and *French* poets, who have broken the bondage of rhyme. See Fabricius, Bib. Lat. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 383.

[3] —— *our beſt Engliſh tragedies:*] Milton means the tragedies of Shakſpeare, which he commends in *Il Penſeroſo* as having "*ennobled* the buſkin'd ſtage." The firſt compoſition in blank verſe, extant in our language, is ſaid to be Lord Surrey's tranſlation of the ſecond and fourth books of Virgil, in 1557; the dic-

itſelf, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true muſical delight; which conſiſts only in apt numbers, fit quantity of ſyllables, and the ſenſe variouſly drawn out from one verſe into another; not in the jingling ſound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients, both in poetry and all good oratory [4]. This neglect then of rhyme ſo little is to be taken for a defect [5], though

tion and the verſification of which are highly commended by Mr. Warton, *Hiſt. Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 21.

[4] —— *both in poetry and all good oratory.*] Mr. Bowle obſerves, that Marſton, in the *Scourge of Villanie*, a collection of Satires, firſt printed at London in 1598, after the *Proëmium in librum ſecundum*, has ſome verſes *ad rithmum*, from which the following may properly be here cited:

—— "Alas! poor idle ſound:
"Since firſt I Phœbus knew, I never found
"Thy intereſt in ſacred poeſie.
"Thou to invention addſt but ſurquedry,
"A gaudie ornature; but haſt no part
"In that ſoule-pleaſing high-infuſed art."

[5] —— *ſo little is to be taken for a defect,*] As Roger Aſcham ſays in his *Scholemaſter*, written about the year 1566, where he is praiſing the *good judgement* of Lord Surrey *in avoyding the fault of ryming*: "And therefore, even as Virgill and Horace deſerve moſt worthie prayſe, that they, ſpying the unperfitneſs in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought poetrie to the ſame perfectnes in Latin as it was in Greeke, even ſo thoſe, that by the ſame way *would benefit their tong* and country, *deſerve rather thankes than diſprayſe*." See *Hiſt. Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 25.

Milton has been amply vindicated in his rejection of rhyme, not only by the remarks of Roſcommon, Addiſon, and other eminent criticks, but alſo by the attention and the ſucceſs with which,

it may ſeem ſo perhaps to vulgar readers, that it is rather to be eſteemed an example ſet, the firſt in Engliſh, of ancient liberty recovered, to heroick poem, from the troubleſome and modern bondage of rhyming.

in later times, his unfettered and noble verſification has been ſtudied:

" Hither, as to their fountain, other ſtars
" Repairing, in their golden urns draw light."

On this ſubject I ſubjoin the remarks of an elegant poet, and moſt accompliſhed ſcholar; as juſt as they are beautiful. See " A Poetical Epiſtle to Chriſtopher Anſtey Eſq^r. on the Engliſh Poets, chiefly thoſe who have written in blank verſe," 1772.

" Poet of other times, to thee I bow
" With lowlieſt reverence. Oft thou tak'ſt my ſoul,
" And waft'ſt it by thy potent harmony
" To that empyreal manſion, where thine ear
" Caught the ſoft warblings of a Seraph's harp,
" What time the nightly viſitant unlock'd
" The gates of Heaven, and to the mental ſight
" Diſplay'd celeſtial ſcenes. She from thy lyre
" With indignation tore the tinkling bells,
" And tun'd it to ſublimeſt argument.
" Sooner the bird, that uſhering in the ſpring
" Strikes the ſame notes with one unvarying pauſe,
" Shall vie with Philomel, when ſhe purſues
" Her evening ſong through every winding maze
" Of melody, than rhyme ſhall ſoothe the ſoul
" With muſick ſweet as thine!"—

THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed: Then touches the prime cause of his Fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who, revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was, by the command of God, driven out of Heaven, with all his crew, into the great deep. Which action passed over, the Poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now falling into Hell described here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed,) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest called Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him: They confer of their miserable fall; Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded. They rise; their numbers; array of battle; their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for, that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

OF Man's firſt diſobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whoſe mortal taſte

Ver. 1. *Of Man's firſt diſobedience,*] The poet here lays before the reader the ſubject of the following work—the diſobedience of our anceſtors to the command of God—the effects of that diſobedience which loſt them Paradiſe; and the hope we are allowed to entertain through the Divine Goodneſs, of being reſtored to the like bliſsful ſtate.—Such are the great events our poet propoſes to celebrate—the means, by which they are brought about, are to be unfolded by degrees, whilſt here he offers, to the reader's imagination, only ſuch ideas as are moſt capable to inſpire him with reverence and attention. The Poem begins with the origin of evil in our world, and the diſobedience of our anceſtors to God, the cauſe of all our woe. We find Homer too, the father of Epick poetry, beginning his Iliad from the anger of Achilles, the ſource of all the Grecian misfortunes.

It would have been ridiculous, as Horace juſtly obſerves, had Homer begun his poem with an account of Leda's offspring; and it would have been abſurd too in Milton, to have taken his exordium from the revolt of Satan and his Angels in Heaven; though hence the cauſe of that malice and enmity, which prompted the apoſtate Spirit to endeavour the ruin of mankind. As we were not, however, to be left ignorant of this great event, the poet has taken care to give us ſome hints of it in the beginning of this book, reſerving the particular detail for that beautiful epiſode in the ſixth; as his maſter Homer has done the principal events, that either went before the commencement of the quarrel between the

Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loſs of Eden, till one greater Man
Reſtore us, and regain the bliſsful ſeat,
Sing, heavenly Muſe, that on the ſecret top

Phrygians and Grecians, or fell out during the firſt nine years of the war: the Iliad itſelf containing an account only of the tranſactions of a ſmall part of the tenth year.

Virgil has obſerved the ſame conduct. He gives us the hiſtory of the taking of Troy, and what befel his hero, in an epiſode, which forms the ſecond and third books of his poem; and in them are comprehended all the adventures of Æneas, till the time the poem takes him up near the coaſt of Italy, and conſequently towards the end of his travels.

Our poet here follows this plan. He opens his work repreſenting Satan as already in Hell, and there contriving the ſcheme of Man's deſtruction, which he begins immediately to put in execution; neither are we told the particulars of his coming there for a great while after: ſo that we may juſtly apply to our author what Quinctilian ſays of Homer on a like occaſion, "in pauciſſimis verſibus operis ingreſſu, legem proëmiorum ſervavit." *Paradiſe Loſt, Book the firſt, with Notes*, Printed at Glaſgow, in 1750.

Ver. 4. *With loſs of Eden,*] But Eden was not loſt; and the laſt that we read of our firſt parents is that they were ſtill in Eden,

"*Through Eden* took their ſolitary way."

With loſs of Eden therefore means no more than *with loſs of Paradiſe*, which was planted in Eden; the whole being put for a part, as ſometimes a part is put for the whole, by the figure *ſynecdoche*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 6. ——— *on the* ſecret *top*

Of Oreb, or of Sinai,] Dr. Bentley reads "the *ſacred* top." But his ſuppoſed emendation is entirely overthrown by Dr. Pearce's maſterly expoſition of the genuine reading. "Sinai and Horeb are the ſame mountain, with two ſeveral eminences, the higher of them called Sinai; of which Joſephus, in his

Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didſt inſpire
That ſhepherd, who firſt taught the choſen ſeed,
In the beginning, how the Heavens and Earth
Roſe out of Chaos: Or, if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Faſt by the oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous ſong,
That with no middle flight intends to ſoar

Jewiſh antiquities, ſays, that *it is ſo high, that the top of it cannot be ſeen without ſtraining the eyes.* In this ſenſe therefore, though I believe it is not Milton's ſenſe, the top of it may be well ſaid to be *ſecret*. The words, *of Horeb, or of Sinai*, imply a doubt of the poet, which name was propereſt to be given to that mountain, on the top of which Moſes received inſpiration; becauſe Horeb and Sinai are uſed for one another in Scripture: but, by naming Sinai laſt, he ſeems to incline rather to that. Now it is well known from *Exodus* xix. 16, and other places of Scripture, that when God gave his laws to Moſes on the top of Sinai, it was covered with *clouds, dark clouds* and *thick ſmoke*; it was therefore *ſecret* at that time in a peculiar ſenſe: And the ſame thing ſeems intended by the epithet which Milton uſes upon the very ſame occaſion, B. xii. 227, *Sinai, whoſe* GRAY *top ſhall tremble.*"

Dr. Newton obſerves, that Milton might have a further meaning in the uſe of the epithet *ſecret*, employing it in the ſame ſenſe as the Latin *ſecretus, ſet apart*, or *ſeparate*, like Virgil's "*ſecretóſque pios*," *Æn.* viii. 670. For, while Moſes talked with God on the mount in private, the people were forbidden to approach, and, even afterwards, to aſcend it, upon pain of death.

Ver. 8. *That ſhepherd,*] For Moſes "*kept the flock* of Jethro his father in law," *Exod.* iii. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 11. ——— *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a ſmall river that flowed near the temple of Jeruſalem. It is mentioned, *Iſaiah* viii. 6. So that, in effect, Milton invokes the heavenly Muſe, that inſpired David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jeruſalem; as well as Moſes on mount Sinai. NEWTON.

Above the Aonian mount, while it purſues
Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhyme.

Ver. 15. ——— *while it purſues*
Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhyme.] So he ſays, that the fable of his *Comus* was new, and "*yet unheard in tale or ſong.*" Mr. Bowle remarks, that it is frequent among the poets to ſpeak of the novelty of their ſubjects; of which cuſtom Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Spenſer, and Cowley, afford examples. He adds the very phraſe, which Milton uſes, from Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* Lib. ii. c. xxx. ſt. 1.

——— "Avien, che *ne in proſa è detta, o in rima*
"*Coſa* che non ſia ſtata detta prima."

And Dr. Pearce notes the ſame expreſſion in Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. i. ſt. 2.

Ver. 16. ——— *in proſe or* rhyme.] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by *rhime* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is ſix times mentioned, and always ſpelt without an *h*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appeared, *rhime* in this place of the poem was ſpelt with an *h*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making ſo conſtant a difference in the ſpelling; and intended that we ſhould here underſtand by *rhime*, not the *jingling ſound of like endings*, but *verſe in general*; the word being derived from *rythmus*, ῥυθμὸς: Thus Spenſer uſes the word *rhime* for *verſe*, in his "Verſes to Lord Buckhurſt," placed before his *Faery Queen*; and in Book i. Cant. vi. ſt. 13, of that poem. And ſo our poet uſes the word in his verſes upon *Lycidas*,

——— "he knew
"Himſelf to ſing, and build the lofty *rhime*." PEARCE.

The "lofty *rhyme*," in *Lycidas*, is the "lofty *verſe*." And this is unqueſtionably the ſenſe of the word *rhyme*, in this place of *Paradiſe Loſt*. I cannot, however, admit biſhop Pearce's reaſoning: at leaſt in the paſſage of *Lycidas* we have no ſuch nicety of ſpelling, but *rhyme* appears in the editions of 1638, 1645, and 1673. Nor are the biſhop's proofs of the true meaning of the word at all to the point. He rather might have alledged the following inſtance from Spenſer's *October*:

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that doſt prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,

" Thou kenſt not, Percy, how the *rime* ſhould rage;
" O, if my temples were diſtain'd with wine,
" And girt in girlonds of wilde iuie twine,
" How ſhould I reare the Muſe on ſtately ſtage, &c."

That is, " my poetry ſhould then mount to the higheſt elevations of the tragick and epick muſe." But Fletcher more literally, in an Ode to Beaumont, on his imitations of Ovid, ſt. ii.

" The wanton Ovid whoſe enticing *rimes*."

It is wonderful that Bentley, with all his Grecian predilections, and his critical knowledge of the preciſe original meaning of ῥυθμὸς, ſhould have wiſhed to ſubſtitute, in Milton, *ſong* for *rhyme*. Grey, who ſtudied and copied Milton with true penetration and taſte, in his *Muſick-Ode*, uſes *rhyme* in Milton's ſenſe:

" Meek Newton's ſelf bends from his ſtate ſublime,
" And nods his hoary head, and liſtens to the *rhyme*."

WARTON.

I may add that Milton's formulary occurs in our old poetry. Thus, in Skelton's *Boke of Philip Sparow*, Workes, edit. 1736, p. 241.

——————— " to wryte
" And ſpende my time
" *In proſe and rime*."

Again, in Verſes prefixed to Gaywood's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654.

" Therefore, my friend, whether *in proſe or rime*,
" What thou haſt writ is ſatyr to the time."

Rhyme, in the ſame ſenſe, was alſo ſpelt both ways in Milton's time. I will give an inſtance from P. Fletcher's *Poetic. Miſcell.* 1633. " And rais'd my *rime* to ſing &c." p. 3. " Some wanton *rhyme*," p. 82.

Ver. 17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spirit*, &c.] Invoking the Muſe is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor deſire, to be thought to mean any thing ſeriouſly. But the Holy Ghoſt, here invoked, is too ſolemn a name to be uſed

Inſtruct me, for Thou know'ſt; Thou from the firſt

inſignificantly: and, beſides, our author, in the beginning of his next work *Paradiſe Regained*, ſcruples not to ſay to the ſame Divine Perſon

——————— "Inſpire,
"As thou art wont, my prompted ſong, elſe mute."

This addreſs therefore is no mere formality. Yet ſome may think that he incurs a worſe charge of enthuſiaſm, or even profaneneſs, in vouching inſpiration for his performance: but the Scriptures repreſent inſpiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that "*every good gift*," in naturals as well as in morals, "*deſcendeth from the great Father of lights*;" Jam. i. 17. And an extraordinary ſkill even in mechanical arts is there aſcribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt. It is ſaid of Bezaleel, who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that "*the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wiſdom, in underſtanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanſhip, and to deviſe curious works, &c.*" Exod. xxxv. 31. HEYLIN.

It may be obſerved too in juſtification of our author, that other ſacred poems are not without the like invocations, and particularly Spenſer's *Hymns* of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, as well as ſome modern Latin poems. But I conceive that Milton intended ſomething more, for I have been informed by thoſe, who had opportunities of converſing with his widow, that ſhe was wont to ſay that he did really look upon himſelf as inſpired, and I think his works are not without a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. In the beginning of his ſecond book of *The Reaſon of Church Government*, ſpeaking of his deſign of writing a poem in the Engliſh language, he ſays, "It was not to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and ſends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaſes." p. 61, Edit. 1738. NEWTON.

Ver. 19. *Inſtruct me, for Thou know'ſt;*] Theocrit. *Idyl.* xxii. 116.

Εἰπὲ θεὰ· σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα. NEWTON.

Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant: What in me is dark,
Illumine; what is low, raise and support;
That to the highth of this great argument
I may assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to Men.

Ver. 21. Dove-like *sat'st* brooding] Alluding to *Gen.* i. 2. "*The Spirit of God* moved *on the face of the waters*;" For the word, that we translate *moved*, signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and Milton says like a *dove* rather than any other bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove, *Luke* iii. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftener copied from them, than from our translations. NEWTON.

Perhaps Milton says "*dove-like*," knowing that the Talmudists had thus critically illustrated the original word, *brooded*: "QUEMADMODUM COLUMBA *incumbit pullis suis*, neque eos attingit aut lædit alis suis." Vid. Hottinger. *Thes. Phil.* p. 275, and p. 350.

Ver. 22. ——————— *What in me is dark,*
Illumine;] He calls the Holy Ghost "the *illuming* Spirit," in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 273. edit. 1698. Compare Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. viii. st. 76.

"*Illumine* their *dark* soules with light diuine."

Ver. 26. *And* justify *the ways of God to Men.*] Pope has thought fit to borrow this verse, with some little variation, *Essay on Man*, Ep. i. 16.

"But *vindicate* the ways of God to Man."

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Pope's preferring *vindicate*; but Milton uses *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, "That thou mightest be *justified* in thy sayings," *Rom.* iii. 4. And "the ways of God to Men" are *justified* in the many argu-

Say firſt, for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell; ſay firſt, what cauſe
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy ſtate,
Favour'd of Heaven ſo highly, to fall off
From their Creator, and tranſgreſs his will
For one reſtraint, lords of the world beſides?
Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?
The infernal Serpent; he it was, whoſe guile,
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had caſt him out from Heaven, with all his hoſt

mentative diſcourſes throughout the Poem, particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son. NEWTON.

Ver. 27. *Say firſt, for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,*
Nor the deep tract of Hell;] The poets attribute a kind of omniſcience to the Muſe, and very rightly, as it enables them to ſpeak of things, which could not otherwiſe be ſuppoſed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, *Il.* ii. 485.

Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα.

And Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 645.

"Et meminiſtis enim, Divæ, et memorare poteſtis."

Milton's Muſe being the *Holy Spirit*, muſt of courſe be omniſcient. And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the ſcene of ſo great a part of the Poem is laid ſometimes in Hell, and ſometimes in Heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 33. *Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?*
The infernal Serpent;] An imitation of Homer, *Iliad* i. 8.

Τίς τ' ἄρ σφῶϊ θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός. HUME.

Of rebel Angels; by whoſe aid, aſpiring
To ſet himſelf in glory above his peers,
He truſted to have equall'd the Moſt High,
If he oppos'd; and, with ambitious aim
Againſt the throne and monarchy of God,
Rais'd impious war in Heaven, and battle proud,
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal ſky,
With hideous ruin and combuſtion, down
To bottomleſs perdition; there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,

Ver. 38. ——————— *by whoſe aid, aſpiring*
To ſet himſelf in glory above his peers,] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not his aiming *above his peers:* he was *in place high above them* before, as the doctor proves from B. v. 812. But, though this be true, Milton may be right here; for the force of the words ſeems, not that Satan *aſpired to ſet himſelf above his peers*, but that he *aſpired to ſet himſelf in glory*, that is, in divine glory, in ſuch glory as God and his Son were ſet in. Here was his crime; and this is what God charges him with, in B. v. 725.

—— "who intends to erect his throne
"Equal to ours,"—

and, in B. vi. 88, Milton ſays, that the rebel Angels hoped

"To win the mount of God, and on his throne
"To ſet the envier of his ſtate, the proud
"Aſpirer."

See alſo, to the ſame purpoſe, B. vii. 140, &c. PEARCE.

Ver. 45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal ſky,*] Homer, *Iliad* i. 591.

Ῥίψε, ποδὸς τεταγὼν, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο. NEWTON.

Ver. 48. *In adamantine chains*] This phraſe has been cited from Æſchylus by Dr. Newton. It occurs alſo in Arioſto, and

Who durſt defy the Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the ſpace that meaſures day and night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquiſh'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded, though immortal: But his doom
Reſerv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of loſt happineſs, and laſting pain,

in Fulvio Teſti. But it was a common phraſe in Engliſh. Thus, in Spenſer's *Hymn* " In honour of Love."

" Together linkt with *adamantine chaines.*"

And in P. Fletcher's Purp. Iſland, 1633, c. xii. ſt. 64, of the old Dragon:

" So now he's bound in *adamantine chain*;
" He ſtorms, he roars, he yells for *high diſdain.*"

So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song 1, " bound with *adamantine chaines.*" And Drummond, in his *Flowers of Sion*, has " Death's *adamantine chain.*" Hence Pope, in his *Meſſiah*, employs the expreſſion;

" In *adamantine chains* ſhall Death be bound."

Gray has finely adapted it in his hymn to *Adverſity*,

" Bound in THY *adamantine chain.*"

Milton alſo uſes this phraſe in his *Latin Proluſions*, 1674, p. 71, and in his *Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*, B. i. ch. 13.

Ver. 54. ——————— *now the thought*
Both of loſt happineſs, &c.] Milton here had in view, as Mr. Bowle alſo obſerves, the Devil's ſpeech in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, 1633. l. i. ſt. 31.

" Laſſo, ma che mi val fuor diſperanza
" A lo ſtato primier volger la mente,
" Se con l'amara, e miſera membranza
" Raddoppia i ben'paſſato il mal preſente?"

Torments him: round he throws his baleful eyes,
That witneſs'd huge affliction and diſmay
Mix'd with obdurate pride and ſtedfaſt hate:
At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
The diſmal ſituation waſte and wild;
A dungeon horrible on all ſides round,
As one great furnace flam'd; yet from thoſe flames
No light; but rather darkneſs viſible

Ver. 56. ——— *round he throws his baleful* eyes,
That witneſs'd huge affliction and diſmay
Mix'd with obdurate pride *and ſtedfaſt* hate.] Thus P. Fletcher, in his *Locuſts*, 4°. 1627, of Satan;

——— " his fiery *eye*,
" Much ſwolne with *pride*, but more with rage and *hate*,
" As cenſour, muſter'd all his company."

Mr. Bowle refers to Taſſo, *Gier. Conqu.* L. iv. ſt. 11.

" *Alza* gli *occhi dolenti*, e'*ntorno gira*."

Ver. 63. ——— *darkneſs viſible*] Milton ſeems to have uſed theſe words to ſignify *gloom*. Abſolute darkneſs is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, inviſible; but where there is a gloom only, there is ſo much light remaining, as ſerves to ſhow that there are objects, and yet that thoſe objects cannot be diſtinctly ſeen. PEARCE.

Seneca has a like expreſſion, ſpeaking of the grotto of Puſilipo, *Epiſt.* lvii. " Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obſcurius, quæ nobis præſtant, non ut *per tenebras* videamus, ſed ut *ipſas*." And, as Voltaire obſerves, Antonio de Solis, in his hiſtory of Mexico, ſpeaking of the place wherein Montezuma conſulted his deities, ſays; " It was a large dark ſubterranean vault, where ſome diſmal tapers afforded juſt *light enough to ſee the obſcurity*." So Euripides, *Bacchæ*, v. 510.

——— ὡς ἂν σκότιον ἴσωμεν κνέφας.

There is much the ſame image in Spenſer, but not ſo bold, *Fair. Qu.* i. i. 14.

Serv'd only to diſcover ſights of woe,
Regions of Sorrow, doleful ſhades, where peace
And reſt can never dwell; hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning ſulphur unconſum'd:
Such place Eternal Juſtice had prepar'd
For thoſe rebellious; here their priſon ordain'd
In utter darkneſs, and their portion ſet
As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,

" A little glooming light, much like a ſhade."

Or, after all, Milton might take the hint from his own *Il Penſeroſo*.

" Where glowing embers through the room
" Teach light to counterfeit a gloom." NEWTON.

Ver. 66. ——— *Hope never comes*
That comes to all;] Dante's inſcription over *the gates of hell* has been generally ſuppoſed to be here copied, *Inf.* c. iii. 9.

" *Laſciate ogni ſperanza*, voi che 'ntrate."

Dr. Hurd adds, from Euripides, a ſimilar expreſſion, *Troad.* 676.

" ——— ἐξ', ὃ πᾶσι λείπεται βροτοῖς,
Σύμπαν ἐλπίς.

Mr. Bowle cites alſo from Sidney's *Arcadia*, B. ii. p. 322, this obſervation: " He would not put himſelf into that *hell* to be *hopeleſs*." — The following paſſage from Dante's deſcription of the damned may likewiſe be compared, *Inferno*, c. v. 44.

" *Nulla ſperanza* gli conforta mai,
" *Non che di poſa*, ma di minor pena."

Ver. 71. ——— *their priſon ordain'd*
In utter darkneſs,] *Wiſdom*, xviii. 4. " They were worthy to be deprived of light and *impriſoned in darkneſs*."

As from the center thrice to the utmoſt pole.
O, how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
With floods and whirlwinds of tempeſtuous fire,
He ſoon diſcerns; and weltering by his ſide
One next himſelf in power, and next in crime,
Long after known in Paleſtine, and nam'd
Beëlzebub. To whom the Arch-Enemy,
And thence in Heaven call'd Satan, with bold words

Ver. 74. *As from the center thrice to the utmoſt pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth, which is the center of the world according to Milton's ſyſtem, B. ix. 103, and B. x. 671, to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the univerſe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here called the *utmoſt pole*. Homer makes the ſeat of Hell as far beneath the deepeſt pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth, *Iliad* viii. 16. Virgil makes it *twice* as far, *Æn.* vi. 578. And Milton *thrice* as far. As if theſe three great poets had ſtretched their utmoſt genius, and vied with each other, who ſhould extend his idea of the depth of Hell fartheſt. But Milton's whole deſcription of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this ſingle circumſtance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffecting is the Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, the σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκειος οὐδός, of Homer; the "*lugentes campi*," the "*ferrea turris*," and "*horriſono ſtridentes cardine portæ*," of Virgil; in compariſon with this deſcription by Milton, concluding with that artful contraſt,

"O, how unlike the place from whence they fell!"

NEWTON.

Ver. 81. *Beëlzebub.*] He is called *Prince of the devils, Matt.* xii. 24; therefore deſervedly here made ſecond to Satan himſelf. HUME.

Ver. 82. *And thence in Heaven call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan*, in Hebrew, ſignifies an *enemy*: He is THE ENEMY by way of eminence; the chief enemy of God and man. NEWTON.

Breaking the horrid ſilence, thus began.
If thou beeſt he; but O, how fall'n! how chang'd
From him, who, in the happy realms of light,
Cloth'd with tranſcendent brightneſs, didſt outſhine
Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counſels, equal hope,
And hazard in the glorious enterpriſe,
Join'd with me once, now miſery hath join'd
In equal ruin: into what pit thou ſeeſt

Ver. 84. ——— *but O, how fall'n! how chang'd From him,*] He imitates Iſaiah and Virgil at the ſame time: *Iſaiah* xiv. 12. "How art thou fallen from heaven, &c." And Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 274.

"Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!"
NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Cloth'd with tranſcendent brightneſs, didſt outſhine Myriads though bright!*] Imitated from Homer, *Odyſſ.* vi. 110, where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful:

Ῥεῖα δ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι. BENTLEY.

Ver. 91. In *equal ruin:*] So it is in all the editions. "*And* equal ruin," is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows, and I believe every body muſt allow, to be juſt and proper; it being very eaſy to miſtake one of theſe words for the other; and other inſtances perhaps may occur in the courſe of this work. *Equal ruin* hath joined now, as *equal hope* joined before; ſomewhat like that in Ovid, *Met.* i. 351.

"O ſoror, O conjux, O fœmina ſola ſuperſtes,
"Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,
"Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipſa pericula jungunt."

From what highth fall'n; ſo much the ſtronger prov'd
He with his thunder: and till then who knew
The force of thoſe dire arms? Yet not for thoſe,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can elſe inflict, do I repent or change,

In equal ruin cannot anſwer to *in the glorious enterpriſe*, becauſe Milton places a comma after *enterpriſe*, and in conſtruction it follows after *hazard*, not after *join'd*. NEWTON.

Ver. 93. *He with his thunder:*] There is an uncommon beauty in this expreſſion. Satan diſdains to utter the name of God, though he cannot but acknowledge his ſuperiority. See alſo v. 257. NEWTON.

Ver. 94. ——— *yet not for thoſe,*
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can elſe inflict, do I repent or change, &c.] Milton, in this and other paſſages where he deſcribes the fierce and unrelenting ſpirit of Satan, ſeems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æſchylus gives of Prometheus. Thus Prometheus, ſpeaking of Jupiter, *Prom. Vinct.* 991.

——— ῥιπίσθω μὲν αἰθάλωσα φλὸξ,
Λευκοπλίνῳ δὲ πιφαύσῃ, καὶ βροντήμασι
Χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα, καὶ ταραττέτω·
Γναμψει γὰρ ἐδεί των δι μ', ὥτε καὶ φράσαι, κ.τ.λ. THYER.

Poſſibly Milton might recollect the unſubdued ſpirit of Capaneus in Dante, *Inferno* xiv. 52.

" Se Giove ſtanchi il ſuo fabbro, da cui
" Crucciato preſe la folgore acuta,
" Onde l' ultimo dì percoſſo fui,
" O s' egli ſtanchi gli altri, a muta a muta,
" In Mongibello alla fucina negra,
" Gridando, Buon Vulcano, ajuta ajuta;
" Sì com' e' fece alla pugna di Flegra,
" E me ſaetti di tutta ſua forza,
" Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra."

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Though chang'd in outward luſtre, that fix'd mind,
And high diſdain from ſenſe of injur'd merit,
That with the Mightieſt rais'd me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,
That durſt diſlike his reign, and, me preferring,
His utmoſt power with adverſe power oppos'd
In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,
And ſhook his throne. What though the field be loſt?
All is not loſt; the unconquerable will,
And ſtudy of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to ſubmit or yield,
And what is elſe not to be overcome;

Ver. 98. *And* high diſdain] Thus Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 19.

" His gall did grate for grief and *high diſdain.*"

This is the *alto ſdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. THYER.

Ver. 105. ——— *What though the field be loſt?*
All is not loſt; &c.] This paſſage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's ſpeech to the infernal ſpirits in Taſſo, c. iv. ſt. 15; but ſeems to be expreſſed from Fairfax's tranſlation, rather than from the original;

" We loſt the field, yet loſt we not our heart." NEWTON.

Ver. 109. *And what is elſe not to be overcome;*] Milton's own, as well as all ſubſequent, editions, till Dr. Newton's appeared, read this line with a note of interrogation. But Dr. Pearce obſerved, there ſhould be only a ſemicolon; as the words ſignify, *And if there be any thing elſe,* beſides the particulars mentioned, *which is not to be overcome.*

That glory never ſhall his wrath or might
Extort from me. To bow and ſue for grace
With ſuppliant knee, and deify his power,
Who from the terrour of this arm ſo late
Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,
That were an ignominy, and ſhame beneath
This downfall; ſince by fate the ſtrength of Gods
And this empyreal ſubſtance cannot fail,
Since through experience of this great event
In arms not worſe, in foreſight much advanc'd,
We may with more ſucceſsful hope reſolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcileable to our grand foe,
Who now triumphs, and, in the exceſs of joy
Sole reigning, holds the tyranny of Heaven.

Ver. 110. *That glory*, &c.] *That* refers to what went before; to his *unconquerable will, and ſtudy of revenge*, his *immortal hate, and courage never to ſubmit or yield*, and what beſides *is not to be overcome*; theſe Satan eſteems his glory, and *that glory* he ſays God ſhould never extort from him. Then begins a new ſentence, according to all the beſt editions, *To bow and ſue for grace*, &c., *that were low indeed*, &c.; *that* ſtill referring to what went before: And, by obſerving this punctuation, this whole paſſage, which has perplexed and confounded many readers and writers, is rendered plain and eaſy to be underſtood. NEWTON.

Ver. 116. ——— *ſince by fate*, &c.] For Satan ſuppoſes the Angels to ſubſiſt by fate and neceſſity; and he repreſents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery*, ſubſtance, as the Scripture itſelf does, *Pſalm* civ. 4. "He maketh his Angels ſpirits, and his miniſters *a flame of fire*." NEWTON.

Ver. 124. ——— *the tyranny of Heaven.*] The poet, ſpeaking in his own perſon at v. 42 of the ſupremacy of the Deity,

So ſpake the apoſtate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep deſpair:
And him thus anſwer'd ſoon his bold compeer.
O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led the embattled Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and, in dreadful deeds
Fearleſs, endanger'd Heaven's perpetual king,

calls it "*the throne and monarchy of God*;" but here very artfully alters it to *the tyranny of Heaven*. THYER.

Ver. 126. *Vaunting*] Thus Virgil, *Æn.* i. 212.

"Talia voce refert, curiſque ingentibus æger
"Spem vultu ſimulat, premit altum corde dolorem."

Theocritus has expreſſed this in a more ſimple manner, as better ſuited to the paſtoral ſtile, *Idyll.* i. 95.

——————— ἁ Κύπρις γελάοισα,
Λαθρα μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα.

Homer's deſcription of Juno in the ſame circumſtances is more majeſtick:

——— ——— ἡ δὲ γέλασσε
Χείλεσιν· οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέῃσιν
Ἰάνθη—

One needs not be afraid to pronounce Milton's verſe ſuperiour to any of theſe above-quoted, both in the brevity and energy of expreſſion, and juſtneſs of the thought, ariſing from the nature of the foregoing ſpeech, and Satan's preſent miſery. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 128. *O Prince, O Chief* &c.] Pope has imitated the two firſt lines of this ſpeech, in his tranſlation of the *Iliad*, xiii. 333.

"*O Prince!* (Meriones replies) whoſe care
"*Leads forth* the *embattled* ſons of Crete *to war*; &c."

Ver. 131. ——— *endanger'd Heaven's* perpetual *king*,] The reader ſhould remark here the propriety of the word *perpe-*

And put to proof his high ſupremacy,
Whether upheld by ſtrength, or chance, or fate;
Too well I ſee, and rue the dire event,
That with ſad overthrow, and foul defeat,
Hath loſt us Heaven, and all this mighty hoſt
In horrible deſtruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and heavenly eſſences
Can periſh: for the mind and ſpirit remains
Invincible, and vigour ſoon returns,
Though all our glory extinct, and happy ſtate
Here ſwallow'd up in endleſs miſery.
But what if he our conquerour (whom I now
Of force believe Almighty, ſince no leſs

*

tual. Beëlzebub does not ſay *eternal* king, for then he could not have boaſted of *endangering* his kingdom: but he endeavours to detract as much as he can from God's everlaſting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid uſes *perpetuum*, *Met.* i. 4.

——— " primâque ab origine mundi
" Ad mea *perpetuum* deducite tempora carmen."

What Beëlzebub means here, is expreſſed more at large afterwards by Satan, v. 637, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 141. *Though all our glory* extinct,] As a flame put out and extinguiſhed for ever. This word is very properly applied to their irrecoverable loſs of that angelick beauty, which accompanied them when in a ſtate of innocence. The Latins have uſed the word *extinctus* in the ſame metaphorical ſenſe. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 332.

——— " te propter eundem
" *Extinctus* pudor, et, qua ſola fidera adibam,
" Fama prior." *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Than ſuch could have o'er-power'd ſuch force as
ours)
Have left us this our ſpirit and ſtrength entire
Strongly to ſuffer and ſupport our pains,
That we may ſo ſuffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier ſervice as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his buſineſs be,
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
What can it then avail, though yet we feel
Strength undiminiſh'd, or eternal being
To undergo eternal puniſhment?
Whereto with ſpeedy words the Arch-Fiend
replied.
Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miſerable

Ver. 150. ——— *whate'er his buſineſs be,*] The buſineſs which God has appointed for us to do. So, in B. ii. 70, "*his torments*" are the torments which he has appointed for us to ſuffer. Many inſtances of this way of ſpeaking may be found in this Poem. PEARCE.

Ver. 156. *Whereto*] To what he had ſaid laſt, which had ſtartled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *ſpeedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than ἴπεα πτερόεντα are always in Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 157. ——— *to be weak is miſerable*
Doing or ſuffering:] Satan having in his ſpeech boaſted that the "*ſtrength of Gods could not fail,*" v. 116; and Beëlzebub having ſaid v. 146, "*If God has left us this our ſtrength entire to ſuffer pain ſtrongly, or to do him mightier ſervice as his thralls, what then can our ſtrength avail us?*" Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *ſuffer* or to *work*, yet ſtill it is ſome comfort to have our ſtrength undiminiſhed: For it is a *mi-*

Doing or ſuffering: but of this be ſure,
To do aught good never will be our taſk,
But ever to do ill our ſole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we reſiſt. If then his providence
Out of our evil ſeek to bring forth good,
Our labour muſt be to pervert that end,
And out of good ſtill to find means of evil;
Which oft-times may ſucceed, ſo as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and diſturb
His inmoſt counſels from their deſtin'd aim.
But ſee, the angry victor hath recall'd

ſerable thing, ſays he, *to be weak* and without ſtrength, whether we are *doing* or *ſuffering*. This is the ſenſe of the place; and this is farther confirmed by what Belial ſays, B. ii. 199.

——— " To *ſuffer*, as to *do*,
" Our *ſtrength* is equal." PEARCE.

Ver. 169. *But ſee, the angry victor hath recall'd*, &c.] Dr. Bentley has really made a very material objection to this and ſome other paſſages of the poem, wherein the good Angels are repreſented, as purſuing the rebel hoſt with fire and thunderbolts, down through Chaos, even to the gates of Hell; as being contrary to the account, which the Angel Raphael gives to Adam in the vith book. And it is certain that there the good Angels are ordered to *ſtand ſtill only and behold*, and the Meſſiah alone expels them out of Heaven; and, after he has expelled them, and Hell has cloſed upon them, B. vi. 880,

" Sole victor from the expulſion of his foes
" Meſſiah his triumphal chariot turn'd;
" To meet him all his Saints, who ſilent ſtood
" Eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts,
" With jubilee advanc'd."

His miniſters of vengeance and purſuit
Back to the gates of Heaven: the ſulphurous hail,
Shot after us in ſtorm, o'erblown, hath laid

Theſe accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other: but the author does not therefore contradict himſelf, nor is one part of his ſcheme inconſiſtent with another. For it ſhould be conſidered, who are the perſons that give theſe different accounts. In book the vith the Angel Raphael is the ſpeaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuine and exact truth of the matter. But in the other paſſages Satan himſelf or ſome of his Angels are the ſpeakers; and they were too proud and obſtinate ever to acknowledge the Meſſiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion was raiſed on his account, they would never own his ſuperiority; they would rather aſcribe their defeat to the whole hoſt of heaven than to *him alone;* or, if they did indeed imagine their purſuers to be ſo many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it ſerves admirably to expreſs how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the vith, 830, the noiſe of his chariot is compared to the *ſound of a numerous hoſt;* and perhaps they might think that a numerous hoſt were really purſuing. In one place indeed we have Chaos ſpeaking thus, B. ii. 996.

——— " and Heaven gates
" Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
" Purſuing:"

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See B. vi. 871.

" Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
" And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall
" Through this wild anarchy, ſo huge a rout
" Incumber'd him with ruin."

We muſt ſuppoſe him therefore to ſpeak according to his own frighted and diſturbed imagination; he might conceive that ſo much

" Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,"

The fiery ſurge, that from the precipice
Of Heaven receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath ſpent his ſhafts, and ceaſes now
To bellow through the vaſt and boundleſs deep.
Let us not ſlip the occaſion, whether ſcorn,
Or ſatiate fury, yield it from our Foe.
Seeſt thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
The ſeat of Deſolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of theſe livid flames
Caſts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the toſſing of theſe fiery waves;
There reſt, if any reſt can harbour there;

could not all be effected by a ſingle hand: and what a ſublime idea muſt it give us of the terrours of the Meſſiah, that he alone ſhould be as formidable as if the whole hoſt of Heaven were purſuing! So that this ſeeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemiſh to the poem. NEWTON.

Ver. 181. *The ſeat of Deſolation, void of light,*] The former part of this line reſembles a phraſe in Lodge's *Looking Glaſſe for London*, 1598.

" Theſe pallaces, the pride of Aſſur's kings,
" Shall be the *bowres of Deſolation:*"

And the latter part, an expreſſion in Dante, *Inf.* c. v. 28.

" I' venni in luogo *d' ogni luce muto.*"

Ver. 182. —— *the glimmering of theſe* livid *flames*] So Dante calls Charon, " nocchier della *livida* palude," *Inf.* c. iii. And, in like manner, the Stygian lake is called by Statius, *Theb.* i. 57.

——— " umbrifero Styx *livida* fundo."

Ver. 185. *There* reſt, *if any* reſt *can harbour there*;] The turn of the words in this verſe, reſembles a paſſage in Shakſpeare, *Rich.* II. A. v. S. i.

And, re-aſſembling our afflicted Powers,
Conſult how we may henceforth moſt offend
Our enemy; our own loſs how repair;
How overcome this dire calamity;
What reinforcement we may gain from hope;
If not, what reſolution from deſpair.

Thus Satan talking to his neareſt mate
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That ſparkling blaz'd; his other parts beſides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood; in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monſtrous ſize,

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" Here let us *reſt*, if this rebellious earth
" Have any *reſting*." BOWLE.

Ver. 186. ——— *our* afflicted *powers*,] Afflicted is here intended to be underſtood in the Latin ſenſe, *routed, ruined, utterly broken*. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 191. *If* not, *what reſolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is returned " If *not*;" a vicious ſyntax: But the poet gave it " If *none*:" BENTLEY.

Ver. 193. ——— ——— *eyes*
That ſparkling blaz'd,] Dante, *Inf.* c. iii. 109.

" Caron dimonio, con *occhi di bragia*."

Spenſer is more elaborate in his deſcription of the *Old Dragon*'s eyes, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 14.

" His *blazing eyes*, like two bright ſhining ſhieldes,
" Did burn with wrath, and *ſparkled* living fire."

Ver. 196. ——— *in bulk as huge*, &c.] So Dante, ſpeaking of the devil, *Inferno*, c. xxxiv. 30.

" E più con gigante i' mi convegno,
" Che *i giganti* non fan con *le ſue braccia*: &c."

Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove;
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarſus held; or that ſea-beaſt
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugeſt that ſwim the ocean ſtream:

Ver. 199. *Briareos*] To be read in *four* ſyllables, and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as *three*, Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 287. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *or Typhon*, &c.] Typhon is the ſame with Typhoeus. That *the den* of Typhoëus was in Cilicia, of which *Tarſus* was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar and Pomponius Mela. I am much miſtaken, if Milton did not make uſe of Farnaby's note on Ovid, *Met.* v. 347, to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient* Tarſus perhaps from Nonnus:

Ταρὸς ἀειδομένη πρωτόπτολις,

which is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. JORTIN.

Ver. 201. *Leviathan*,] The beſt criticks ſeem to agree, that the *leviathan*, in *Job*, means the *crocodile*; and Milton deſcribes it, in the ſame manner, partly as a *fiſh*, and partly as a *beaſt*, and attributes *ſcales* to it: And yet by ſome things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale*, as was the general opinion; there being no crocodiles upon the coaſt of Norway, and what follows being related of the *whale*, but never, as I have heard, of the *crocodile*. NEWTON.

Ver. 202. ——— *the ocean ſtream:*] The Greek and Latin poets frequently turn ſubſtantives into adjectives. So Juvenal, according to the beſt copies, *Sat.* xi. 94.

"Qualis in *oceano fluctu* teſtudo nataret." JORTIN.

So Homer, *Odyſſ.* xi. 638. Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο. But the phraſe is common in our own poetry. Thus, in the *Hiſt. of Orlando Furioſo*, 1599.

"To burſt the billowes of the *ocean ſea*."

And in Drummond's *Poems*, 1616, part 2d.

"And too long painted on the *ocean ſtreames*."

Him, haply, ſlumbering on the Norway foam
The pilot of ſome ſmall night-founder'd ſkiff
Deeming ſome iſland, oft, as ſea-men tell,
With fixed anchor in his ſkaly rind
Moors by his ſide under the lee, while night

And in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627. c. v. ſt. 50. "The *ocean ſtreame.*"

Ver. 204. *The pilot of ſome ſmall* night-founder'd *ſkiff*] Some little boat, whoſe pilot dares not proceed in his courſe, for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a *foundered* horſe that can go no farther: Or, *night-founder'd*, in danger of ſinking at night, from the term, *foundering at ſea*. I prefer the former, as being Milton's aim. HUME.

The phraſe in *Comus*, v. 483, confirms the former explication.

Ver. 205. ——— *as ſea-men tell.*] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of caſting anchor in this manner. HUME.

Milton is juſtified in his deſcription by various authorities. Olaus magnus writes a whole chapter *De anchoris dorſo ceti impoſitis*. "Habet etiam cetus ſuper corium ſuum ſuperficiem tanquam fabulum quod eſt juxta littus maris: unde *plerunque*, elevato dorſo ſuo ſuper undas, *à navigantibus nihil aliud creditur eſſe quàm inſula*. Itaque nautæ ad eum appellunt: et ſuper eum deſcendunt, *inque ipſum palos figunt*, naves alligant, etc." There is a ſimilar relation of the whale in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 568. And Arioſto's deſcription of the *balena*, an enormous ſea-monſter, affords another proof of fiſh having been taken for iſlands: *Orl. Fur.* c. vi. ſt. 37.

"Ch'ella ſia un *iſoletta* ci credemo."

Ver. 207. Inveſts *the ſea*,] A phraſe often uſed by the poets, who call darkneſs the mantle of the night, with which ſhe *inveſts* the earth. Milton, in another place, has another ſuch beautiful figure, and truly poetical, when ſpeaking of the moon, B. iv. 609,

"And o'er the dark her ſilver mantle threw."

And in another place, B. ix. 52,

"Night's hemiſphere had *veil'd* the horizon round."

Inveſts the ſea, and wiſhed morn delays:
So ſtretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay
Chain'd on the burning lake: nor ever thence
Had ris'n, or heav'd his head; but that the will
And high permiſſion of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark deſigns;
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himſelf damnation, while he ſought
Evil to others; and, enrag'd, might ſee
How all his malice ſerv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodneſs, grace and mercy, ſhown
On Man by him ſeduc'd; but on himſelf
Treble confuſion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty ſtature; on each hand the flames,
Driven backward, ſlope their pointing ſpires, and, roll'd
In billows, leave i' the midſt a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he ſteers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the duſky air

Thence too the epithet of κυκνόπτιλος given to the night by Muſæus. Statius has a ſimilar expreſſion to that of Milton, *Theb.* v. 51.

——— "ingenti tellurem proximus *umbrâ*
"*Veſtit* Athos, nemorúmque obſcurat imagine pontum."
Glaſgow edit. 1750.

Ver. 226. ——— *incumbent on the duſky air*
That felt unuſual weight,] This conceit of the *air's feeling unuſual weight*, is borrowed from Spenſer's deſcription of the Old Dragon, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 18.

That felt unuſual weight; till on dry land
He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
With ſolid, as the lake with liquid fire;
And ſuch appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of ſubterranean wind tranſports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the ſhatter'd ſide

" Then with his waving wings diſplayed wyde,
" Himſelfe up high he lifted from the ground,
" And with ſtrong flight did forcibly divyde
" The yielding *ayre*, which nigh *too feeble* found
" Her flitting parts, and element unſound,
" *To beare ſo great a weight.*" THYER.

P. Fletcher, in his *Purp. Iſland*, c. 12. ſt. 59, ſpeaks in like manner of the dragon; as Mr. Headley alſo has obſerved:

" So up he roſe upon his ſtretched ſails
" Fearleſſe expecting his approaching death:
" So up he roſe, that the *ayer* ſtarts, and fails,
" And, *over-preſſed, ſinks his load beneath:*
" So up he roſe, as does a thunder-cloud,
" Which all the earth with ſhadows black does ſhroud:
" So up he roſe, and through the *weary ayer* pow'd."

Ver. 229. ——— *with* liquid fire,] Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 33.
" Et *liquidi* ſimul *ignis*." NEWTON.

So Lucret. vi. 204.
——— *liquidi* color aureus *ignis*."

The phraſe is alſo in Shakſpeare's *Othello*, and in Craſhaw's *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 106. Milton repeats the phraſe, v. 701.

Ver. 231. *Of ſubterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures, that it ſhould be read *winds*, becauſe it is ſaid " aid the *winds*," afterwards; and the conjecture ſeems probable and ingenious: The " fuell'd entrails aid and encreaſe the *winds*" which firſt blew up the fire. NEWTON.

Ver. 232. *Torn from Pelorus,*] Dante, *Purg.* c. xiv. 32.
" L'alpeſtro monte, *ond' è tronco Peloro.*"

Of thundering Ætna, whoſe combuſtible
And fuell'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a ſinged bottom all involv'd
With ſtench and ſmoke: ſuch reſting found the ſole
Of unbleſt feet. Him follow'd his next mate:
Both glorying to have 'ſcap'd the Stygian flood
As Gods, and by their own recover'd ſtrength,
Not by the ſufferance of ſupernal Power.
Is this the region, this the ſoil, the clime,
Said then the loſt Arch-Angel, this the ſeat
That we muſt change for Heaven; this mournful gloom
For that celeſtial light? Be it ſo, ſince he,
Who now is Sovran, can diſpoſe and bid
What ſhall be right: fartheſt from him is beſt,
Whom reaſon hath equall'd, force hath made ſupreme
Above his equals. Farewell happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou, profoundeſt Hell,

Pelorus, one of the three great promontories of Sicily, is now called *Cape Faro*. It is not far from mount Ætna.

Ver. 246. *Who now is* Sovran,] So Milton ſpells it after the Italian *ſovrano*. It is not eaſy to account for the formation of our word *ſovereign*. NEWTON.

Ver. 247. ——— *fartheſt from him is beſt*,] This is expreſſed from the Greek proverb, Πόῤῥω Διὸς τε καὶ κεραυνοῦ, *Far from Jupiter, but far too from thunder.* BENTLEY.

Receive thy new poſſeſſour; one who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by place or time:
The mind is its own place, and in itſelf
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.
What matter where, if I be ſtill the ſame,
And what I ſhould be; all but leſs than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at leaſt
We ſhall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign ſecure, and, in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.

Ver. 252. *Receive thy new poſſeſſour;*] This paſſage ſeems to be an improvement upon the *Ajax* of Sophocles, where Ajax, before he kills himſelf, cries out much in the ſame manner;

Ἰὼ σκότος, ἰμὸν φάος, ἴραμβος
Ὦ φαεννὸν ὡς ἰμοὶ,
Ελεσθ', ἴλεσθ' εἰκήτορα,
Ελεσθέ μι. NEWTON.

Ver. 254. *The mind is its own place,* &c.] Theſe are ſome of the extravagancies of the Stoicks, and could not be better ridiculed than they are here, by being put in the mouth of Satan in his preſent ſituation. THYER.

The ſentiment correſponds to what Hamlet ſays in Shakſpeare: "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it ſo." BOWLE.

Ver. 263. *Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.*] Dr. Newton obſerves, that this line is a very fine improvement upon Prometheus's anſwer to Mercury in Æſchylus, *Prom. Vinct.* 965—967.

Compare alſo P. Fletcher's *Locuſts*, 1627, p. 37.

"Thus fell this Prince of darkneſs, once a bright
"And glorious ſtarre;——

But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
The aſſociates and copartners of our loſs,
Lie thus aſtoniſh'd on the oblivious pool,
And call them not to ſhare with us their part
In this unhappy manſion; or once more
With rallied arms to try what may be yet
Regain'd in Heaven, or what more loſt in Hell?
So Satan ſpake, and him Beëlzebub
Thus anſwer'd. Leader of thoſe armies bright,
Which but the Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
If once they hear that voice, their livelieſt pledge
Of hope in fears and dangers, heard ſo oft
In worſt extremes, and on the perilous edge
Of battle when it rag'd, in all aſſaults
Their ſureſt ſignal, they will ſoon reſume
New courage and revive; though now they lie
Groveling and proſtrate on yon lake of fire,
As we ere while, aſtounded and amaz'd;
No wonder, fall'n ſuch a pernicious highth.
He ſcarce had ceas'd when the ſuperiour Fiend
Was moving toward the ſhore: his ponderous ſhield,
Ethereal temper, maſſy, large and round,

" *To be in heaven the ſecond he diſdaines:*
" So now the firſt *in hell* and flames *he raignes,*
" Crown'd once with joy and light; now crown'd with fire and paines."

Ver. 276. ——— *on the perilous* edge
Of battle] See Mr. Dunſter's note on *Paradiſe Regained*, B. i. 94.

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Behind him caſt; the broad circumference
Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon, whoſe orb
Through optick glaſs the Tuſcan artiſt views
At evening from the top of Feſolé,
Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her ſpotty globe.
His ſpear, to equal which the talleſt pine

Ver. 287. *Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon,*] So Spenſer deſcribes the ſhield of Radigund, *Faery Queen*, v. v. 3.

" And *on her ſhoulder hung her ſhield*, bedeck't
" Upon the boſſe with ſtones that ſhined wide,
" *As the faire moone* in her moſt full aſpect,
" That *to the moone it mote be like* in each reſpect."

The author of *Douglas* had an eye to Milton's ſimile, A. ii. S. i.

" This *moon*, which roſe laſt night, *round as my ſhield*,
" Had not yet fill'd her horns, &c."

So Pope, in tranſlating Homer's ſimilies, *Iliad* xi. 673.

" O'er his broad back his *moony ſhield* he threw."

And *Iliad* xix. 402.

—— " *Like the moon*, the *broad* refulgent *ſhield*."

Compare alſo Callimachus, *Hymn. Dian.* v. 53.

Ver. 289. *Feſolé*,] A town of Tuſcany, near Florence. " Mean time here we are however in Arno's vale; [*Valdarno*;] the *full moon* ſhining over *Fieſole*, which I ſee from my windows. Milton's verſes every moment in one's mouth, and *Galileo's houſe* twenty yards from one's door." Obſerv. in a Journey through Italy, by Mrs. Piozzi, 1789, vol. i. p. 271.

Ver. 292. *His ſpear, to equal which*, &c.] Milton ſeems to have borrowed this deſcription from Cowley, who ſays of Goliah,

" His ſpear, the trunk was of a lofty tree,
" Which Nature meant ſome tall ſhip's maſt ſhould be."

JOHNSON.

Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the maſt
Of ſome great ammiral, were but a wand,
He walk'd with, to ſupport uneaſy ſteps
Over the burning marle, not like thoſe ſteps
On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
Smote on him ſore beſides, vaulted with fire:
Nathleſs he ſo endur'd, till on the beach

Ver. 293. ——— *Norwegian-hills,*] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vaſt woods, from whence are brought maſts of the largeſt ſize. HUME.

Ver. 294. *Of ſome great* ammiral,] From the German *amiral* or *amirael*, ſays Hume; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, ſays Richardſon more probably. Milton made choice of this, as thinking it of a better ſound than *admiral*; and in Latin he writes *ammiralatûs* curia, "the court of admiralty." NEWTON.

Ammiral, that is, any *great* or *capital ſhip*. In this ſenſe the word frequently occurs in Sir R. Hawkins's "Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Seas," ed. 1622. fol. "The *Admirall* of the Spaniſh Armado was a Flemiſh *ſhippe*," p. 9. Again, "The *Admirall*, in which I came, a *ſhip* of about five hundreth tunnes." p. 87.—Hume and Dr. Newton have miſtaken the ſenſe of this place. Dobſon renders the word, not improperly, by *prætoria puppis*. Rolli finely italianizes it by this line,

"Per arborarne un' *almirante nave*." BOWLE.

I muſt add, that Fairfax, in his tranſlation of *Taſſo*, edit. 1600, p. 92, ſpells the word, *amrall*. And Fanſhaw, in his tranſlation of the *Luſiad of Camöens*, 1655, generally ſpells it, *ammiral*.

Ver. 299. *Nathleſs*] Nevertheleſs. Thus Chaucer, *Prologue* to Cant. Tales,

"But *nathleſs* while that I have time and ſpace,"

And Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. ix. 54.

"Yet *natheleſſe* it could not doe him die."

In the ſame form Spenſer uſes *nathemore* for *not the more*, ibid. I. viii. 13. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Of that inflamed ſea he ſtood, and call'd
His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
Thick as autumnal leaves that ſtrow the brooks
In Vallombroſa, where the Etrurian ſhades,

Ver. 302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] The compariſon of *multitudes* to *leaves*, occurs in Homer, Virgil, and other ancient poets; but without any ſuch accompanying ſcenery as in Milton. The number of *evil ſpirits* is likewiſe illuſtrated ſimply by this compariſon, in Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. ſt. 66.

" Nè tante vede mai l' Autunno al ſuolo.
" Cader co' primi freddi aride foglie."

And in Dante the multitude of thoſe who enter Charon's boat, is repreſented by the ſame image, *Inferno*, c. iii. 112.

" Come d' Autunno ſi levan le foglie,
" L' una appreſſa dell' altra, infin che 'l ramo
" Rende alla terra tutte le ſue ſpoglie:"

Here the leaves lie *in heaps upon the ground*; but, in Milton, they *ſtrow the brooks*, as his angels *covered the burning lake*. There is alſo a beautiful ſimile, which Milton might have in view, in Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xvi. ſt. 75.

" Poi ſon le genti ſenza nome tante,
" Che del lor ſangue oggi faranno un lago,
" Che meglio conterei ciaſcuna foglia,
" Quando l' Autunno gli arbori ne ſpoglia."

Ver. 303. *In Vallombroſa,*] This vale, celebrated for its piety and ſituation, is about eighteen miles from Florence. It is thus ſweetly deſcribed by Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxii. ſt. 36.

" Così fu nominata una badia
" Ricca, e bella, nè men religioſa,
" E corteſe a chiunque vi venia."

Milton, no doubt, had viſited this delightful ſpot. His accuracy, however, was called in queſtion by ſome gentlemen, who, in 1789, having ſeen it, contradicted the aſſertion,

" *Thick* as *autumnal leaves* in Vallombroſa;"

High over-arch'd, imbower; or ſcatter'd ſedge
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coaſt, whoſe waves o'erthrew
Buſiris and his Memphian chivalry,

becauſe, as they ſaid, the trees are all ever-green in thoſe woods. But, Mrs. Piozzi obſerves, "Milton was right, it ſeems, notwithſtanding: For the botaniſts tell me, that nothing makes *more litter*, than the *ſhedding of leaves*, which replace themſelves by others, as on the plants ſtyled *ever-green*; which change like every tree, but only do not change all at once, and remain ſtript till Spring." Obſervations, &c. as before, vol. i. p. 323.

Ver. 305. ——— *with fierce winds* Orion arm'd] *Orion* is a conſtellation repreſented in the figure of an *armed man*, and ſuppoſed to be attended with ſtormy weather: "*aſſurgens fluctu nimboſus Orion.*" Virg. *Aen.* i. 539. NEWTON.

So Petrarch, *Son.* xxxiii. parte prima.

"Allor riprendre ardir Saturno e Marte
"Crudeli ſtelle; ed *Orione armato*
"Spezza a' triſti nocchier governi, e ſarte."

Ver. 306. *Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coaſt,*] The Red-Sea abounds ſo much with ſedge, that in the Hebrew Scriptures it is called "The *Sedgy Sea.*" And Milton ſays "*hath vex'd the Red-Sea coaſt*" particularly, becauſe the wind uſually drives the ſedge in great quantities towards the ſhore. NEWTON.

Ver. 307. Buſiris *and his Memphian* chivalry,] *Pharaoh* has been called by ſome writers *Buſiris*, as Dr. Pearce and Hume have noted. And *chivalry* ſignifies not only *knighthood*, but *perſons who uſe horſes in fight*; both ſuch as ride on horſes, and ſuch as ride in chariots drawn by them; as Dr. Pearce illuſtrates by v. 765, by *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 344, and by ſeveral references to Fairfax's Taſſo. It may be added, that *cavalleria*, in Italian, has a ſignification equally extenſive; being uſed "per *ogni genere di milizie*, così cavaliere ſi diſſe per ſoldato." Della Cruſca. So Milton, in his *Hiſt. of Eng.* B. iii. "Arthur with all his *chivalry.*"

While with perfidious hatred they purſued
The ſojourners of Goſhen, who beheld
From the ſafe ſhore their floating carcaſſes
And broken chariot wheels: ſo thick beſtrown,
Abject and loſt lay theſe, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He call'd ſo loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell reſounded. Princes, Potentates,
Warriours, the flower of Heaven, once yours, now loſt,
If ſuch aſtoniſhment as this can ſeiſe
Eternal Spirits; or have ye chos'n this place
After the toil of battle to repoſe
Your wearied virtue, for the eaſe you find
To ſlumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
Or in this abject poſture have ye ſworn
To adore the conquerour? who now beholds

Ver. 308. ——— *perfidious hatred*] Becauſe Pharaoh, after leave given to the Iſraelites to depart, followed after them as fugitives. HUME.

Ver. 310. *From the ſafe ſhore*, &c.] Much has been ſaid of the long ſimilitudes of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, wherein they fetch a compaſs as it were, to draw in new images, beſides thoſe in which the direct point of likeneſs conſiſts. I think they have been ſufficiently juſtified in the general: But, in this before us, while the poet is digreſſing, he raiſes a new ſimilitude from the floating carcaſſes of the Egyptians. HEYLIN.

Ver. 314. ——— *all the hollow deep*
Of Hell reſounded.] So, at the blaſt of the Infernal Trumpet, in Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. ii. ſt. 3.

"Treman le ſpatioſe atre caverne,
"Et l' aer cieco à quel rumor rimbomba."

Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
With ſcatter'd arms and enſigns, till anon
His ſwift purſuers from Heaven-gates diſcern
The advantage, and, deſcending, tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.
Awake, ariſe, or be for ever fall'n.
They heard, and were abaſh'd, and up they ſprung
Upon the wing; as when men wont to watch
On duty, ſleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouſe and beſtir themſelves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their general's voice they ſoon obey'd;

Ver. 328. ——— *with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.] This alludes to the fate of Ajax Oileus, Virg. *Æn.* i. 44,

" Illum expirantem *transfixo pectore* flammas
" Turbine corripuit, ſcopulóque infixit acuto."

Compare the devil's ſpeech to his damned aſſembly, in Taſſo, canto the fourth, from ſtanza 9 to ſtanza 18, which Milton had ſeen, but has borrowed little of. HUME.

Ver. 330. *Awake, ariſe, or be for ever fall'n.*] Pope, in his imitation of this line, falls ſhort of its dignity, *Odyſſ.* xxiv. 498.

" Ariſe (or ye for ever fall) ariſe!"

Ver. 337. *Yet to their general's voice they ſoon* obey'd] Thus Chaucer, in his *Legend of women,*

" That as an harp *obeyeth to* the hand."

And Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. xi. 35.

" Lo, now the heavens *obey to* me alone."

Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's *ſon, in* Egypt's *evil day,*
Wav'd round the coaſt, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of locuſts, warping on the eaſtern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
So numberleſs were thoſe bad Angels ſeen
Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and ſurrounding fires;
Till, as a ſignal given, the up-lifted ſpear
Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their courſe, in even balance down they light
On the firm brimſtone, and fill all the plain;
A multitude, like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to paſs
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous ſons

And it is an expreſſion of the ſame kind with the Latin, "*dicto audientes duci.*" C. Nepos, Iphicrat. c. ii.—*Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 338. *As when the potent rod* &c.] See *Exodus* x. 13, 14, 15. NEWTON.

Ver. 341. —— *warping*] Working themſelves forward; a ſea-term. HUME.

Ver. 351. *A multitude, like which the populous North*
Pour'd never] This compariſon doth not fall below the reſt, as ſome have imagined. They were *thick* as the *leaves*, and *numberleſs* as the *locuſts*; but ſuch a multitude the North *never* poured forth: The ſubject of *this compariſon* riſes very much above the others; the *leaves* and *locuſts*. The Northern parts of the world are obſerved to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: hence, "the *populous* North," which Sir William Temple calls, "*the Northern hive.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 353. *Rhene or the Danaw,*] He might have ſaid,

Came like a deluge on the South, and ſpread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian ſands.
Forthwith from every ſquadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haſte where ſtood
Their great Commander; Godlike ſhapes and forms
Excelling human: princely Dignities;
And Powers that erſt in Heaven ſat on thrones;
Though of their names in heavenly records now

" *Rhine or the Danube*; but he choſe *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *when her* barbarous *ſons*] They were truly *barbarous*; for, beſides exerciſing ſeveral cruelties, they deſtroyed all the monuments of learning and politeneſs wherever they came. They were the *Goths*, and *Huns*, and *Vandals*, who over-ran all the Southern provinces of Europe; and, croſſing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibraltar*, landed in Africa, and ſpread themſelves as far as Lybia. " *Beneath*" Gibraltar, means more *South-ward*; the *North* being *uppermoſt* in the globe. NEWTON.

Ver. 354. *Came like a deluge*] Spenſer, deſcribing the ſame people, has the ſame ſimile, *Faer. Qu.* ii. x. 15.

" And *overflowèd* all countries far away,
" *Like Noye's great flood*, with their importune ſway."
NEWTON.

Lillo, in his *Chriſtian Hero*, A. ii. S. i. ſeems to have copied Milton:

" When with reſiſtleſs force your conquering troops
" *Pour'd, like a deluge*, o'er the realms of Greece."

Spenſer's ſimile was probably borrowed from Petrarch, *Canz.* xvi.

" O diluvio raccolto
" Di che deſerti ſtrani
" Per inondar i noſtri dolci campi."

Ver. 361. *Though of their names* &c.] *Pſalm* ix. 5, 6. " Thou haſt put out *their name* for ever and ever. Their *name*-

Be no memorial; blotted out and ras'd
By their rebellion from the books of life.
Nor had they yet among the ſons of Eve
Got them new names; till, wandering o'er the earth,
Through God's high ſufferance for the trial of man,
By falſities and lies the greateſt part
Of mankind they corrupted to forſake
God their Creator, and the inviſible
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,

rial is periſhed with them." And *Rev.* iii. 5. "I will not *blot* his *name out of the book of life*." GILLIES.

Dr. Newton obſerves, that Milton has written *books* in the plural, as well as *records* juſt before; and becauſe the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give of the great number of the Angels. But Mr. Lofft, in his edition of this Book of Paradiſe Loſt in 1792, has admitted into the text the conjecture of Bentley, "the *book* of life;" which, he ſays, the ſtyle of the ſacred Epick, and the analogy of Scripture, invincibly ſupport.

Ver. 367. *By falſities and lies*] That is, as Mr. Upton obſerves, by *falſe idols*, under a corporeal repreſentation, *belying* the true God. The poet plainly alludes to *Rom.* i. 22. NEWTON.

Ver. 369. ——*and the inviſible*
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute,] Alluding to *Rom.* i. 23. NEWTON.

Ver. 372. *With gay* religions *full of pomp and gold,*] By *religions* Milton means *religious rites*, as Cicero uſes the word, when he joins "*religiones* et ceremonias," *De Leg.* lib. i. c. 15, and elſewhere. PEARCE.

And Devils to adore for Deities:
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the Heathen world.
Say, Muſe, their names then known, who firſt, who laſt,
Rous'd from the ſlumber, on that fiery couch,
At their great emperour's call, as next in worth
Came ſingly where he ſtood on the bare ſtrand,
While the promiſcuous croud ſtood yet aloof.
The chief were thoſe, who, from the pit of Hell
Roaming to ſeek their prey on earth, durſt fix
Their ſeats long after next the ſeat of God,
Their altars by his altar; Gods ador'd
Among the nations round; and durſt abide

Ver. 376. *Say, Muſe, their names then known,*] Their *new names.* Milton finely conſidered, that the names, he was obliged to apply to theſe evil Angels, carry a bad ſignification, and therefore could not be thoſe they had in their ſtate of innocence and glory; he has therefore ſaid their *former names* are now loſt, raſed from amongſt thoſe of their old aſſociates who retain their purity and happineſs. RICHARDSON.

For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be obſerved, that Milton has compriſed, in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines, the two learned ſyntagmas, which Selden had compoſed on that abſtruſe ſubject. Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* vol. i. p. 539, note. 4°. edit.

The exordium to this enumeration, "*who firſt, who laſt,*" is from Homer, *Il.* v. 703.

Ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὑστάλον.

Ver. 382. *Roaming to ſeek their prey*] In alluſion to that expreſſion in Scripture, the devil "goeth about, like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may devour." *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Jehovah thundering out of Sion, thron'd
Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd
Within his ſanctuary itſelf their ſhrines,
Abominations; and with curſed things
His holy rites and ſolemn feaſts profan'd,
And with their darkneſs durſt affront his light.
Firſt, Moloch, horrid king, beſmear'd with blood
Of human ſacrifice, and parents tears;
Though for the noiſe of drums and timbrels loud
Their childrens cries unheard, that paſs'd through fire

Ver. 386. ——— *thron'd*
Between the Cherubim;] This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, I. *Kings* vi. 23. See alſo II. *Kings* xix. 15. HUME.

Ver. 387. ——— *yea, often plac'd*
Within his ſanctuary itſelf their ſhrines,
Abominations;] This is complained of by the prophet Jeremiah, vii. 30. So we read of Manaſſeh, II. *Kings* xxi. 4, 5. See alſo *Ezek.* vii. 20, and viii. 5, 6. NEWTON.

Ver. 392. *Firſt, Moloch, horrid king,*] Firſt, after Satan and Beëlzebub. *Moloch* ſignifies *king*, and he is called "*horrid* king," becauſe of the human ſacrifices which were made to him. The expreſſion, "*paſs'd through fire*," is taken from *Leviticus* xviii. 21, or II. *Kings* xxiii. 10. His idol was of braſs, ſitting on a throne, and wearing a crown; having the head of a calf, and his arms extended to receive the miſerable victims which were to be ſacrificed; and therefore it is here probably ſtyled "his *grim* idol." He was the god of the Ammonites, I. *Kings* xi. 7, and was worſhipped in *Rabba*, their capital city, called the *city of waters*, II. *Sam.* xii. 27; and in the neighbouring countries as far as to the river Arnon, the boundary of their country on the ſouth. NEWTON.

To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worſhipt in Rabba and her watery plain,
In Argob and in Baſan, to the ſtream
Of utmoſt Arnon: Nor content with ſuch
Audacious neighbourhood, the wiſeſt heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right againſt the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill; and made his grove
The pleaſant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell.
Next, Chemos, the obſcene dread of Moab's ſons,

Ver. 396. *To his grim idol.*] Beſmear'd with blood of human ſacrifice, v. 392: which deſcription Pope has applied to his uſe, *Eſſay on Man*, Ep. iii. 266.

"Next *his grim idol ſmear'd with human blood.*"

Ver. 400. ——— *the wiſeſt heart*
Of Solomon he led &c.] Solomon built a temple to Moloch on the mount of Olives, I. *Kings* xi. 7, which is therefore called "*that opprobrious hill.*" NEWTON.

Tickell has thought proper to alter the text, by reading "*the* opprobrious hill." Fenton follows him.

Ver. 404. *The pleaſant valley of Hinnom*, &c.] See *Jeremiah* vii. 31. It was called alſo *Tophet* from the Hebrew *toph*, a drum; drums, and ſuch like noiſy inſtruments, being uſed to drown the cries of the miſerable children who were offered to this idol. And *Gehenna*, or *the valley of Hinnom*, is in ſeveral places of the New Teſtament, and by our Saviour himſelf, made the *name* and "*type of Hell.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 406. *Next, Chemos*, &c.] *Moloch* and *Chemos* are joined together, I. *Kings* xi. 7. And it was a natural tranſition from the god of the Ammonites to the god of their neighbours, the Moabites. St. Jerom, and ſeveral learned men, aſſert *Chemos* and *Baal-Peor* to be only different names for the ſame idol; and

From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild
Of ſouthmoſt Abarim; in Heſebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flowery dale of Sibma clad with vines.
And Elcälé to the Aſphaltick pool.
Peor his other name, when he entic'd
Iſrael in Sittim, on their march from Nile,
To do him wanton rites, which coſt them woe.
Yet thence his luſtful orgies he enlarg'd
Even to that hill of ſcandal, by the grove
Of Moloch homicide; luſt hard by hate;

ſuppoſe him to be the ſame with *Priapus*, the idol of turpitude, and therefore here called "the *obſcene* dread of Moab's ſons, from *Aroer*," a city upon the Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, "to *Nebo*," a city eaſtward, "and the wild of ſouthmoſt *Abarim*," a ridge of mountains, the boundary of their country to the ſouth; "In *Heſebon* and *Horonaim*," two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by *Sihon*, king of the Amorites, *Numb.* xxi. 26, "beyond *Sibma*," a place famous *for vineyards*, *Jer.* xlviii. 32, and *Elcälé*, another city of the Moabites, not far from *Heſebon*, "to the *Aſphaltick* pool," the *Dead Sea*, (ſo called from the *Aſphaltus*, or bitumen, abounding in it) the boundary of the Moabites to the weſt. The Iſraelites worſhipped this god in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab; for which there died of the plague twenty and four thouſand, *Numb.* xxv. 9. His high places were adjoining to thoſe of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore here called "that *hill of ſcandal*," as before "that *opprobrious hill*;" for Solomon did alſo "build an high place for *Chemoſh*," as well as for *Moloch*, I. *Kings* xi. 7: But *Joſiah* brake in pieces their images &c. II. *Kings* xxiii. 13, 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 417. ——— *luſt hard by hate*;] What a fine moral ſentiment has Milton here introduced and couched in half a verſe! He might perhaps have in view Spenſer's Maſk of Cupid, where

Till good Joſiah drove them thence to Hell.
With theſe came they, who, from the bordering flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baälim and Aſhtaroth; thoſe male,
Theſe feminine: For Spirits, when they pleaſe,

Anger, Strife, &c. are repreſented as immediately following *Cupid* in the proceſſion. See *Faery. Qn.* iii. xii. THYER.

The poet's moral is exactly verified in the inceſtuous and cruel conduct of Amnon towards Tamar, II. *Sam.* xiii. 15. "*Then* Amnon *hated her exceedingly*; ſo that the *hatred*, wherewith he hated her, was greater than the *love*, wherewith he had loved her." Milton's hemiſtich is a fine commentary on the paſſage.

Ver. 419. ——— *from the* bordering flood

Of old *Euphrates*] It is rightly called *old*, being mentioned by the oldeſt hiſtorian in the earlieſt accounts of time, *Gen.* ii. 14. And it is called the *bordering flood*, being the utmoſt limit or border Eaſtward of the Promiſed Land, according to *Gen.* xv. 18. NEWTON.

Ver. 420. ——— *the brook that parts*

Egypt from Syrian ground,] Moſt probably the brook Beſor, mentioned in Scripture, near Rhinocolura; which city is aſſigned ſometimes to Syria, and ſometimes to Egypt. NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *Baälim and Aſtaroth*,] They are frequently named together in Scripture. They were the general names of the gods and goddeſſes of Syria and Paleſtine. They are ſuppoſed to mean the Sun and the hoſt of heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 423. *For Spirits, when they pleaſe*, &c.] Dr. Newton is of opinion, that Milton borrowed theſe notions about Spirits, from Michael Pſellus's dialogue, publiſhed in Greek at Paris in 1615, concerning the *operations of Demons*: in which it is aſſerted, that they can aſſume either ſex, and take what ſhape and colour they pleaſe, and contract or dilate themſelves at pleaſure, as they are of an aery nature.

Can either ſex aſſume, or both; ſo ſoft
And uncompounded is their eſſence pure;
Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle ſtrength of bones,
Like cumbrous fleſh; but, in what ſhape they chooſe
Dilated or condens'd, bright or obſcure,
Can execute their aery purpoſes,
And works of love or enmity fulfil.
For thoſe the race of Iſrael oft forſook
Their living ſtrength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To beſtial Gods; for which their heads as low

It ſhould be obſerved, that theſe operations are recounted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a book familiar to Milton. The whimſical notions of Pſellus are alſo oppoſed, in this book, by a hoſt of grave confutations. See the chapter entitled, "*A digreſſion of diuels, and how they cauſe melancholy.*"

It may be proper alſo to compare a paſſage in Wierus *De Præſtigiis Dæmonum*, 1582, lib. i. cap. xiv, which affords a commentary both to Pſellus and to Milton: "Dæmones, licet ſexu et propria lingua careant, corpus tamen illud aereum ſibi conceſſum, pro arbitrio velut nubes vento flante, in varias formas mutant, contrahûntque, atque extendunt, *quemadmodum lumbricis videtur accidere ob ſubſtantiam molliorem, ductûque facillimam:* neque ſolùm magnitudine diverſitas in eis accidit, verùm etiam *figuras coloréſque variant multiformes.*—Sic *tanquam vir apparet*, et mox *occurit ut fœmina.*" This was communicated by *Marcus* to *Michael Pſellus*.

Pope has borrowed Milton's phraſes on this ſubject, in his *Rape of the Lock*;

"For Spirits, freed from mortal laws, with eaſe
"*Aſſume* what *ſexes* and what *ſhapes* they pleaſe."

Bow'd down in battle, ſunk before the ſpear
Of deſpicable foes. With theſe in troop
Came Aſtoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
Aſtarte, queen of Heaven, with creſcent horns;
To whoſe bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and ſongs;
In Sion alſo not unſung, where ſtood
Her temple on the offenſive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whoſe heart, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatreſſes, fell
To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

Ver. 437. ——*With theſe in troop*
Came Aſtoreth, &c.] The goddeſs of the *Phœnicians*, under which name the *moon* was adored. She is rightly ſaid to *come in troop* with Aſhtaroth, as ſhe was one of them; the *moon with the ſtars*. She is called *queen of heaven*, *Jer.* vii. 18, and *goddeſs of the Zidonians*, I. *Kings* xi. 5; as ſhe was worſhipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevailed upon by them to introduce the worſhip of this goddeſs into Iſrael; and he built her temple on the mount of Olives, which, on account of this and other idols, is called the *mountain of corruption*, II. *Kings* xxiii. 13, as here, by the poet, the *offenſive mountain*.
NEWTON.

Ver. 444. —— *whoſe heart, though large*,] I. *Kings* iv. 29. "And God gave Solomon *largeneſs of heart*." Milton uſes the expreſſion "*large heart*," in *Par. Reg.* B. iii, 10. So, in his friend Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 2d, p. 100.

—— "*Large hearts* deride
"This pent hypocriſie."

Ver. 446. *Thammuz*] He was the god of the Syrians, the ſame with *Adonis*; who was ſaid to die every year and revive again. He was ſlain by a wild boar in *Lebanon*, from whence *the*

Whoſe annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
The Syrian damſels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a ſummer's day;
While ſmooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the ſea, ſuppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat;
Whoſe wanton paſſions in the ſacred porch
Ezekiel ſaw, when, by the viſion led,
His eye ſurvey'd the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one

river Adonis deſcends: And when this river began to be of a reddiſh hue, as it did at a certain ſeaſon of the year, this was their ſignal for celebrating their feaſts of Adonis; and the women made loud lamentations for him, ſuppoſing the river was diſcoloured with his blood. The like idolatrous rites were transferred to Jeruſalem, where Ezekiel ſaw the women lamenting *Thammuz*, *Ezek.* viii. 13, 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 447. *Whoſe annual wound* &c.] Ovid, *Met.* x. 726.

——— " repetitáque mortis imago
" *Annua plangoris* peraget *ſimulamina.*" HUME.

Ver. 456. ——— *the* dark *idolatries*] *Ezekiel* viii. 12. " Then ſaid he unto me, Son of man, haſt thou ſeen what the ancients of the houſe of Iſrael do *in the dark*, every man *in the chambers of his imagery?*"

Ver. 457. ——— *Next came one*
Who mourn'd in earneſt, &c.] The lamentations for Adonis were without reaſon; but there was real occaſion for *Dagon*'s mourning, when the ark of God was taken by the Philiſtines, and being placed in the temple of *Dagon*, the next morning, " behold, *Dagon* was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the *head* of *Dagon*, and both *the palms of his hands* were *cut off* upon the *threſhold*," the *grunſel* or

Who mourn'd in earneſt, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the grunſel edge,
Where he fell flat, and ſham'd his worſhippers:
Dagon his name, ſea-monſter, upward man
And downward fiſh: yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coaſt
Of Paleſtine, in Gath and Aſcalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd Rimmon, whoſe delightful ſeat
Was fair Damaſcus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid ſtreams.
He alſo againſt the houſe of God was bold:
A leper once he loſt, and gain'd a king;
Ahaz his ſottiſh conqueror, whom he drew
God's altar to diſparage, and diſplace,

groundſel edge, the edge of the *foot-poſt* of his temple-gate, I. *Sam.* v. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 467. *Him follow'd* Rimmon,] *Rimmon* was a god of the Syrians. He had a temple at *Damaſcus*, the moſt celebrated city of Syria, on the banks of *Abbana* and *Pharphar*, II. *Kings* v. 12, 18. NEWTON.

Ver. 471. *A leper once he loſt,*] Naaman the Syrian, who was cured of his leproſy by Eliſha, and who, for that reaſon, reſolved thenceforth to offer "neither burnt-offering nor ſacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord," II. *Kings* v. 17. "*And gained a king,*" Ahaz, *his ſottiſh conqueror*, who, with the aſſiſtance of the king of Aſſyria, *having taken Damaſcus*, ſaw there an *altar*, of which he ſent *a pattern* to Jeruſalem to have another made by it; *upon which he ſacrificed*, after his return to Jeruſalem, and thenceforth gave himſelf up to idolatry, II. *Kings* xvi. 10, II. *Chron.* xxviii. 23. NEWTON.

For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the Gods
Whom he had vanquiſh'd. After theſe appear'd
A crew, who, under names of old renown,
Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, and their train,
With monſtrous ſhapes and ſorceries abus'd
Fanatick Egypt and her prieſts, to ſeek
Their wandering Gods diſguis'd in brutiſh forms
Rather than human. Nor did Iſrael 'ſcape

Ver. 478. *Oſiris, Iſis,*] Deities of the Egyptians, by which it is moſt probable they originally meant the ſun and moon.

NEWTON.

See Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. vii. 4.

——— "*Iſis* doth the *moon* portend,
"Like as *Oſyris* ſignifies the *ſun*." BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— *Orus, and their train,* &c.] *Orus* was the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis. Theſe, and the other gods of the Egyptians, were worſhipped in "*monſtrous ſhapes*," bulls, cats, dogs, &c.; and the reaſon alledged for this worſhip is derived from the fabulous tradition, that, when the giants invaded Heaven, the gods were ſo affrighted that they fled into Egypt, and there concealed themſelves in the ſhapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worſhipped the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the gods had aſſumed, Ovid, *Met.* v. 419, &c. Milton therefore calls them "*wandering* gods *diſguis'd in brutiſh forms* rather than human."

NEWTON.

Ver. 482. ——— *Nor did Iſrael 'ſcape*
The infection, &c.] The Iſraelites, by dwelling ſo long in Egypt, were infected with the ſuperſtitions of the Egyptians; and probably made the golden calf in imitation of that which repreſented *Oſiris*, and out of the golden ear-rings which it is moſt likely they borrowed of the Egyptians, *Exod.* xii. 35, "And the *rebel* king," *Jeroboam*, made king by the Iſraelites who rebelled againſt Rehoboam, I. *Kings* xii. "*doubled that ſin*,"

The infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that ſin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazed ox;
Jehovah, who in one night, when he paſs'd
From Egypt marching, equall'd with one ſtroke
Both her firſt-born and all her bleating Gods.
Belial came laſt, than whom a Spirit more lewd

by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had converſed, who had a couple of oxen which they worſhipped, one at Memphis the metropolis of Upper Egypt, and the other at Hierapolis the chief city of Lower Egypt; and he ſet them up "*in Bethel* and *in Dan*," the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael: "*Likening his Maker to the grazed ox*," alluding to *Pſalm* cvi. 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 487. — *who, in one night when he paſs'd*
From Egypt marching, equall'd with one ſtroke
Both her firſt-born and all her bleating gods.] See *Exod.* xii. 12, and *Numb.* xxxiii. 3, 4. And Milton means all her gods in general, though he ſays "*bleating* gods" in particular; borrowing the metaphor from *ſheep*, (which R. Iarchi, upon *Gen.* xlvi. 34, ſays the Egyptians worſhipped as gods,) and uſing it for the cry of any ſort of beaſts: Or he might make uſe of the epithet as one of the moſt inſignificant and contemptible, with the ſame air of diſdain as Virgil ſays, *Æn.* viii. 698,

"Omnigenûmque deûm monſtra, et *latrator* Anubis."

NEWTON.

Ver. 490. *Belial came laſt*, &c.] *Moloch* and *Belial* are very properly made the firſt and the laſt in this catalogue; as they both make ſo great a figure afterwards in the Poem: *Moloch* the firſt, as he was "the *fierceſt* ſpirit," B. ii. 44; and *Belial* the laſt, as he was the *moſt* "*timorous and ſlothful*," B. ii. 117. It does not appear that he was ever worſhipped; but lewd, profligate fellows, ſuch as regard neither God nor man, are called in Scripture "*the children of Belial*," *Deut.* xiii. 13. See alſo I. *Sam.* ii. 12, and

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CALCUTTA

Fell not from Heaven, or more groſs to love
Vice for itſelf: to him no temple ſtood
Or altar ſmok'd; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the prieſt
Turns atheiſt, as did Eli's ſons, who fill'd
With luſt and violence the houſe of God?
In courts and palaces he alſo reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noiſe
Of riot aſcends above their loftieſt towers,
And injury and outrage: and when night
Darkens the ſtreets, then wander forth the ſons
Of Belial, flown with inſolence and wine.
Witneſs the ſtreets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hoſpitable door

Judges xix, which are the particular inſtances here given by Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 502. —— flown *with inſolence and wine.*] *Blown* has been propoſed, by a nameleſs critick, for *flown*, according to doctor Newton; as there is in Virgil, "*Inflatus* Iacchо," *Ec.* vi. 15. And Mr. Warton reads *ſwoln*: See his note on *Comus*, v. 178. But *flown* is the true reading, and ſignifies *flushed*, like the Greek οἰνόφλυξ, *flushed with wine*: So *Deut.* xxi. 20, συμβολοκοπῶν ΟΙΝΟΦΛΥΓΕΙ, Septuagint: that is, "he is a glutton and a *drunkard*."

Ver. 504. ——— *when* the *hoſpitable* door
Expos'd a matron to avoid *worſe rape.*] In the firſt edition thus,

——— "when hoſpitable *doors*
"*Yielded their matrons to prevent* worſe rape."

Milton did well in altering the paſſage; for it was not true of *Sodom*, that any *matron* was yielded there; ſee *Gen.* xix. 8: And, as the women were only offered, not accepted, it is not proper to ſay that they were *yielded*. But obſerve that Milton, in the ſecond

Expos'd a matron, to avoid worſe rape.
Theſe were the prime in order and in might;
The reſt were long to tell, though far renown'd,
The Ionian Gods, of Javan's iſſue; held
Gods, yet confeſs'd later than Heaven and Earth,
Their boaſted parents: Titan, Heaven's firſt-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright ſeis'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,
His own and Rhea's ſon, like meaſure found;
So Jove uſurping reign'd: theſe firſt in Crete

edition, changed *yielded* into *expoſed;* becauſe, in what was done at Gibeah, *Judges* xix. 25, the Levite's *wife* was not only *yielded*, but put out of doors, and *expos'd* to the men's lewdneſs.

PEARCE.

Ver. 506. *Theſe were the* prime] Becauſe theſe are the idols who are mentioned in the moſt ancient records, viz. by the ſacred text. The Grecian and Roman deities are much later, as we have no account of them for ſeveral ages after Moſes; wherefore Milton conſiders them as of an inferiour order and degree: and it is known too that theſe Greek and Roman deities were derived from the Gods of this country. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 508. *The Ionian Gods, of Javan's iſſue;* &c.] Javan, the fourth ſon of Japhet, is ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the ſouth-weſt part of Aſia Minor, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His deſcendants were the *Ionians* and Grecians; and the principal of their Gods were *Heaven* and *Earth; Titan*, the father of the giants, was their eldeſt ſon, and his empire was ſeiſed by his younger brother *Saturn*, as Saturn's was by *Jupiter*. Theſe were firſt known in the iſland *Crete*, now Candia, in which is mount *Ida*, where Jupiter is ſaid to have been born; thence paſſed over into Greece, and reſided on mount *Olympus* in Theſſaly.

NEWTON.

And Ida known, thence on the ſnowy top
Of cold Olympus, rul'd the middle air,
Their higheſt Heaven; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Dorick land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to the Heſperian fields,
And o'er the Celtick roam'd the utmoſt iſles.
All theſe and more came flocking; but with looks
Down-caſt and damp; yet ſuch wherein appear'd
Obſcure ſome glimpſe of joy, to have found their chief
Not in deſpair, to have found themſelves not loſt
In loſs itſelf; which on his countenance caſt

Ver. 515. ——— *the* ſnowy *top*
Of cold Olympus,] So Homer calls it, *Iliad* i. 420, Ὄλυμπον ΑΓΑΝΝΙΦΟΝ. Again, *Il.* xviii. 615. Οὐλύμπῳ ΝΙΦΟΕΝΤΟΣ. NEWTON.

Ver. 517. ——— *the Delphian cliff,*] A tranſlation of θεσπιέπεια Δελφὶς πέτρα, *Œd. Tyr.* 471. Every one knows this to be the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphos; and *Dodona* to be the oracle of Jupiter. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 519. *Dorick land;* &c.] That is, Greece, *Doris* being a part of Greece; *or fled over Adria,* the Adriatick, to the *Heſperian fields,* Italy; *and o'er the Celtick,* France and the other countries over-run by the Celtes. NEWTON.

Ver. 521. —— *roam'd the utmoſt iſles.*] Milton here means the idols which we had from the continent. Our Saxon anceſtors, coming over into England, while they were yet Pagans, brought over the worſhip of their idols with them. The *utmoſt iſles* mean Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent iſlands, which by the Ancients were thought the utmoſt boundaries of the world. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Like doubtful hue: but he, his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not ſubſtance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and diſpell'd their fears.
Then ſtraight commands, that at the warlike found
Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
His mighty ſtandard: that proud honour claim'd
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;
Who forthwith from the glittering ſtaff unfurl'd
The imperial enſign; which, full high advanc'd,
Shone like a meteor ſtreaming to the wind,

Ver. 529. Semblance *of worth, not* ſubſtance,] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* ii. ix. 2.

"Full lively is the *ſemblaunt*, though the *ſubſtance* dead."

THYER.

Ver. 530. *Their* fainting *courage*,] In the firſt edition it is, "Their *fainted* courage;" which Dr. Newton ſuſpects to be an errour of the preſs: Mr. Lofft, in his edition of this Book in 1792, has, however, followed the firſt edition, which he thinks the beſt reading.

Ver. 534. *Azazel*] Dr. Spenſer ſhows that this name is uſed for ſome demon or devil by ſeveral ancient authors, Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and derives it from two Hebrew words, *Az* and *Azel*, ſignifying *brave in retreating*; a proper appellation for the ſtandard-bearer to the fallen angels. We ſee, Milton gives Azazel a *right* to be ſtandard-bearer on account of his ſtature: He had no notion of a dapper enſign who can hardly carry his colours.

NEWTON.

Ver. 537. *Shone like a meteor ſtreaming to the wind*,] This brilliant expreſſion, applied to the *beard* and *hair* of the *Welſh Bard* by Gray, has been deemed rather ludicrous:

"Looſe his beard and hoary hair
"*Stream'd like a meteor to the* troubled *air*."

With gems and golden luſtre rich imblaz'd,
Seraphick arms and trophies; all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial ſounds:
At which the univerſal hoſt up-ſent
A ſhout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were ſeen
Ten thouſand banners riſe into the air
With orient colours waving: with them roſe

Yet Gray may be defended by a paſſage in the Perſian Tales of Inatulla, vol. ii. p. 41. "The circumference of his ſnowy *beard, like the ſtreaming rays of a meteor,* appeared."

Ver. 543. *Frighted the* reign *of Chaos*] *Reign* is uſed, like the Latin *regnum,* for *kingdom.* So Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 21.

"That ſtreight did lead to Plutoes grieſly *rayne.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 545. *Ten thouſand banners riſe into the air* &c.] See Taſſo's deſcription of the Chriſtian and Pagan armies preparing to engage, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. ſt. 28, 29. THYER.

See alſo the *Adamo* of Andreini, where Satan is deſcribing the exultation of the devils at the fall of man, A. iii. S. iv. ed. 1617. p. 79.

"Ecco di nouo ventilar ne l' aura
"Gl' infernali veſſili,
"Ecco i ſuoni feſtanti,
"Ecco le voci tante
"Che inalzandoſi al ciel gridan Vittoria."

Ver. 546. *With* orient colours *waving:*] So, in *Comus,* v. 65,

"His *orient* liquour in a cryſtal glaſs:"

Where Mr. Warton obſerves, that *orient* means *richly bright* from the radiance of the *Eaſt*; that it was a very common deſcription of *colour,* and had long ago become literal even in the plaineſt

A foreſt huge of ſpears; and thronging helms
Appear'd, and ſerried ſhields in thick array
Of depth immeaſurable: anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood

proſe; and that, in old agreements of glaſs-painters for churches, they bargain to execute their work in *orient colours*.

Petrarch's phraſe may be here added, *Sonet.* 166, parte prima,

" Di cinque perte *oriental colore*."

See alſo notes, B. iii. 507, B. iv. 238, and B. vi. 524.

Ver. 547. *A foreſt huge of ſpears*;] Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. viii. ſt. 17.

" E intorno *un boſco* habbian *d' haſte*."

The expreſſion has been adopted alſo in Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ Διντίρα, 1694. 8vo. chap. vii. p. 25. *On his Majeſty's Defeat at Worceſter.* " The other day I was at the head of a gallant army, and now there's not a man dare be ſeen to follow me: I was lately guarded by a *foreſt of ſpears*, and now am glad to ſculk in a foreſt of trees."

Ver. 548. ——— *and* ſerried *ſhields*] *Locked one within another, linked* and *cloſped together*, from the French *ſerrer*, to lock, to ſhut cloſe. HUME.

Or from the Italian *ſerrare*, which admits the ſame meaning.

Ver. 550. ——— *to the Dorian mood*
Of flutes and ſoft recorders;] Milton, in his *Areopagitica*, uſes *grave* and *Dorick* almoſt as ſynonymous terms. " No muſick muſt be heard, no ſong be ſet or ſung, but what is *grave* and *Dorick*." This therefore was the meaſure beſt adapted to the fallen Angels at this juncture: And their inſtruments were *flutes* and *ſoft recorders*, for the ſame reaſon that Thucydides and other ancient hiſtorians aſſign for the Lacedæmonians making uſe of theſe inſtruments; becauſe they inſpired them with a more cool and deliberate courage, whereas trumpets and other martial muſick incited and inflamed them more to rage. See Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 11, and Thucyd. lib. v. NEWTON.

Of flutes and ſoft recorders; ſuch as rais'd
To highth of nobleſt temper heroes old
Arming to battle; and inſtead of rage
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
Nor wanting power to mitigate and ſwage
With ſolemn touches troubled thoughts, and chaſe
Anguiſh, and doubt, and fear, and ſorrow, and pain,
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
Breathing united force, with fixed thought,
Mov'd on in ſilence to ſoft pipes, that charm'd
Their painful ſteps o'er the burnt ſoil: and now
Advanc'd in view they ſtand; a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guiſe
Of warriours old with order'd ſpear and ſhield;
Awaiting what command their mighty Chief

Hence is to be obſerved the exactneſs of Milton's judgement in appropriating the ſeveral inſtruments to the ſeveral purpoſes which they were to ſerve, and the different effects which they produced. Thus, when *a doubtful hue was caſt* upon the countenance of Satan and his aſſociates, and they were but little above deſpair; in order to *raiſe their fainting courage and diſpel their fears*, he commanded his ſtandard to be upreared *at the warlike ſound of trumpets and clarions*; which immediately inſpired them with ſuch a flow of ſpirits, that they are repreſented ſending up *a ſhout that tore Hell's concave*. But, when this ardour was once blown up, and they were to move in perfect phalanx, then the inſtruments are changed for *flutes and recorders to the Dorian mood*, which compoſed them into a more cool and deliberate valour, ſo that they marched on with *ſilence* and reſolution. GREENWOOD.

Had to impoſe: He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and ſoon traverſe
The whole battalion views; their order due;
Their viſages and ſtature as of Gods;
Their number laſt he ſums. And now his heart
Diſtends with pride, and hardening in his ſtrength
Glories: for never, ſince created man,
Met ſuch imbodied force, as nam'd with theſe
Could merit more than that ſmall infantry
Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with the heroick race were join'd
That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each ſide
Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what reſounds

Ver. 567. ——— *He through the armed files*
Darts his experienc'd eye,] Pope, *Iliad* iv. 235.

" Through the thick files he darts his ſearching eyes."

And Satan's ſumming the number of his troops, is no leſs obviouſly imitated by Addiſon in his *Campaign*;

——— " When his thick embattled hoſt he views
" Stretch'd out in deep array, and dreadful length,
" His heart dilates, and glories in his ſtrength."

Ver. 571. ——— *And now his heart*, &c.] *Dan.* v. 20. " His *heart* was lifted up, and his mind *hardened in pride.*"

GILLIES.

Ver. 575. ——— *that ſmall infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes;] All the heroes and armies, that ever were aſſembled, were no more than pygmies in compariſon with theſe Angels. NEWTON.

Ver. 579. *Mix'd with* auxiliar *gods*;] In the war between the ſons of Œdipus *at Thebes*, and between the Greeks and Trojans *at Ilium*, the heroes were aſſiſted by the gods, who are therefore called " *auxiliar* gods." NEWTON.

In fable or romance of Uther's ſon 580
Begirt with Britiſh and Armorick knights;
And all who ſince, baptiz'd or infidel,
Jouſted in Aſpramont, or Montalban,

Ver. 579. ——————— *and what reſounds*
In fable or romance of Uther's ſon] *King Arthur*, whoſe exploits Milton once intended to celebrate in an epick poem. Of his achievements in *Armorica* (now called Bretagne), as well as in England, the old legends are full. "*In fable*," here perhaps particularly alludes to Geoffry of Monmouth's account of Arthur, which Milton, in his *Hiſt. of England*, calls "that *fabulous* book." The old French "*romance*" of *Morte Arthur* was here alſo remembered. The names of places, which follow, are written as they are in romances; and theſe places were famous for *jouſtings*, or ſingle combats, between the Saracens and Chriſtians, who are thus diſtinguiſhed by the writers of romance. Thus Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* l. 1. c. 1. ſt. 30.

"E ſia chi vuol Chriſtiano, o Saracino."

And Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxx. ſt. 40.

"Macommetani, e genti di batteſmo."

In the ſtory of Charlemain, Milton follows the fabulous relation of the Spaniſh writers, by ſaying that the emperour and his twelve peers "*fell at Fontarabbia*:" He ſuſtained indeed, in returning home over the Pyrenean mountains, a partial defeat by the Duke of Gaſcony; but, according to the beſt French hiſtorians, he died in peace, many years after.

Dr. Newton here obſerves, "It is much to be wiſhed that our poet had not ſo far indulged his taſte for romances, of which he profeſſes himſelf to have been fond in his younger years; and had not been oſtentatious of ſuch reading, as perhaps had better never have been read." I differ, with ſubmiſſion, from this remark. Milton's imagination, naturally ſublime, was *enlarged*, as Fenton has obſerved, by reading of romances. And hence his poetry often unites, with his own unborrowed imagery, the ſtriking embelliſhments and graces of romantick fiction.

Damaſco, or Marocco, or Trebiſond,
Or whom Biſerta ſent from Africk ſhore,
When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far theſe beyond
Compare of mortal proweſs, yet obſerv'd
Their dread Commander: he, above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower: his form had yet not loſt
All her original brightneſs; nor appear'd
Leſs than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and the exceſs
Of glory obſcur'd: as when the ſun, new riſen,
Looks through the horizontal miſty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,

Ver. 589. ——— *he, above the reſt* &c.] The greateſt maſters in painting had not ſuch ſublime ideas as Milton; and, among all their devils, have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body muſt allow who has ſeen the pictures or the prints of *Michael and the Devil* by Raphael; and of *the ſame* by Guido; and of the *Laſt Judgement* by Michael Angelo.

NEWTON.

And in what does this *poetical picture* conſiſt? in images of a tower; an archangel; the ſun riſing through miſts, or in an eclipſe; the ruin of monarchs; and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itſelf, by a crowd of great and confuſed images; which affect, becauſe they are crowded and confuſed. For, ſeparate them, and you looſe much of the greatneſs; and join them, and you infalliby loſe the clearneſs. BURKE.

Ver. 594. ——— *as when the ſun*, &c.] Spenſer has a deſcription of the ſun ſimilar to this, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 2.

——— "Phœbus freſh, as bridegroome to his mate,
"Came dauncing forth, ſhaking his deawie haire;
"And hurles his gliſtring beames through gloomy aire."

BOWLE.

In dim eclipſe, diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd ſo, yet ſhone
Above them all the Arch-Angel: but his face
Deep ſcars of thunder had intrench'd; and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntleſs courage, and conſiderate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but caſt
Signs of remorſe and paſſion, to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather,
(Far other once beheld in bliſs) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain;
Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of Heaven, and from eternal ſplendours flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they ſtood,

Ver. 601. *Deep ſcars of thunder had* intrench'd] Had *cut into*, had *made trenches* in his face; from the French *trencher*. So Shakſpeare, ſpeaking of a *ſcar*, in *All's Well that ends well*, "It was this very ſword *intrench'd* it." NEWTON.

Ver. 602. *Sat on his* faded *cheek*,] From this painting Gray perhaps, in his *Bard*, drew "Sorrow's *faded* form," v. 62.

Ver. 609. ——— *for his fault* amerc'd
Of Heaven,] *Amerc'd* has here a ſtrange affinity with the Greek ἀμερδω, to *deprive*, to *take away*; as Homer has uſed it much to our purpoſe, *Odyſſ.* viii. 64,

Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ΑΜΕΡΣΕ, δίδου δ' ἀοιδὴν ἀοιδὸν,

"The Muſe *amerced* him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of ſinging ſweetly." HUME.

Ver. 611. ——— *yet faithful how they ſtood*,] To ſee the true conſtruction of this, we muſt go back to ver. 605 for the verb. The ſenſe then is this, to *behold* the fellows of his crime condemn'd &c. yet how they ſtood faithful. RICHARDSON.

Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
Hath ſcath'd the foreſt oaks, or mountain pines,
With ſinged top their ſtately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blaſted heath. He now prepar'd
To ſpeak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half encloſe him round
With all his peers: Attention held them mute.
Thrice he aſſay'd, and thrice, in ſpite of ſcorn,
Tears, ſuch as Angels weep, burſt forth: at laſt

Ver. 612. ——————— *as when Heaven's fire*
Hath ſcath'd &c.] Hath *hurt*, hath *damaged*; a word frequently uſed in Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakſpeare, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and cloſe ſimile; it repreſents the majeſtick ſtature, and withered glory, of the Angels; and the laſt with great propriety, ſince their luſtre was impaired by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the ſimile: and beſides, the blaſted heath gives us ſome idea of that ſinged burning ſoil, on which the Angels were ſtanding. Homer and Virgil frequently uſe compariſons from trees, to expreſs the ſtature or falling of a hero, but none of them are applied with ſuch variety and propriety of circumſtances as this of Milton. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 24. NEWTON.

Their *ſtately growth, though bare*, will remind the reader of an elegant ſimile in Lucan, *Pharſal.* i. 136.

" Qualis frugifero quercus ſublimis in agro,
" Exuvias veteres populi, ſacratáque geſtans
" Dona ducum, nec jam validis radicibus hærens,
" Pondere fixa ſuo eſt, nudóſque per aëra ramos
" Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram."

Ver. 619. *Thrice he aſſay'd, and thrice* ———————
Tears burſt forth:] He had Ovid in his thought, *Met.* xi. 419.

" Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit." BENTLEY.

Words, interwove with ſighs, found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
Matchleſs, but with the Almighty; and that ſtrife
Was not inglorious, though the event was dire,
As this place teſtifies, and this dire change
Hateful to utter: but what power of mind,
Foreſeeing or preſaging, from the depth
Of knowledge paſt or preſent, could have fear'd,
How ſuch united force of Gods, how ſuch
As ſtood like theſe, could ever know repulſe?
For who can yet believe, though after loſs,
That all theſe puiſſant legions, whoſe exile
Hath emptied Heaven, ſhall fail to re-aſcend

The turn of the words bears a near reſemblance to Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 41.

" *Thrice he aſſaid* it from his foote to draw,
" And *thrice in vain* to draw it did aſſay:"

As alſo to Sackville, Induction *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, ſt. laſt,

" *Thryſe he began* to tell his dolefull tale,
" And *thryſe the ſighs did ſwallow up his voyce.*"

BOWLE.

Ver. 623. ——————— *and that ſtrife*
Was not inglorious,] Ovid, *Met.* ix. 6.

——————— " nec tàm
" Turpe fuit vinci, quàm contendiſſe decorum eſt."

NEWTON.

Ver. 633. *Hath emptied Heaven,*] It is conceived, that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according to *Rev.* xii. 4. " And his tail drew the third part of the ſtars of heaven, and caſt them to the earth:" And this opinion Milton has again ex-

Self-rais'd, and repoſſeſs their native ſeat?
For me, be witneſs all the hoſt of Heaven,
If counſels different, or dangers ſhunn'd
By me, have loſt our hopes. But he, who reigns
Monarch in Heaven, till then as one ſecure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Conſent or cuſtom; and his regal ſtate
Put forth at full, but ſtill his ſtrength conceal'd,
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
Henceforth his might we know, and know our own;
So as not either to provoke, or dread
New war, provok'd: our better part remains
To work in cloſe deſign, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not: that he no leſs
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
Space may produce new worlds; whereof ſo rife
There went a fame in Heaven that he ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard

preſſed, B. ii. 692, B. v. 710, B. vi. 156. But Satan here talks big, and magnifies their number, as if their "exile had *emptied* Heaven." NEWTON.

Ver. 642. *Which* tempted *our* attempt,] The jingle of the times:

So Sylveſter, *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621. p. 827.

"Shee dar'd, and did *attempt* to *tempt* mee too;
"But God forbad, &c."

Should favour equal to the ſons of Heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, ſhall be perhaps
Our firſt eruption; thither or elſewhere:
For this infernal pit ſhall never hold
Celeſtial Spirits in bondage, nor the abyſs
Long under darkneſs cover. But theſe thoughts
Full counſel muſt mature: Peace is deſpair'd;
For who can think ſubmiſſion? War then, War,
Open or underſtood, muſt be reſolv'd.
He ſpake: and, to confirm his words, out-flew
Millions of flaming ſwords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the ſudden blaze
Far round illumin'd Hell: Highly they rag'd

Ver. 664. *Millions of flaming ſwords,*] Compare Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. v. ſt. 28.

" Quaſi in quel punto *mille ſpade ardenti*
" Furon vedute fiammegiar inſieme."

And Silius Italicus, L. i. v. 500.

" Mille ſimul dextræ, *denſúſque micare* videtur
" *Enſis.*—" BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— *drawn from the thighs*] It may be obſerved here, that Milton, to keep up the dignity of language, has purpoſely avoided the trite phraſe *drawn from the ſides*, and adopted the Greek way of expreſſing it. Thus Homer, *Il.* i. 194.

Ἦ ὄγε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ. THYER.

Ver. 665. ——— *the ſudden blaze*
Far round illumin'd] " *Trait l'eſpee* hors de fourreaux qui *jettoit moult grand clairte.*" Huon de Bourdeaux, 303. BOWLE.

Againſt the Higheſt, and fierce with graſped arms
Claſh'd on their ſounding ſhields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.
There ſtood a hill not far, whoſe griſly top
Belch'd fire and rolling ſmoke; the reſt entire
Shone with a gloſſy ſcurf; undoubted ſign
That in his womb was hid metallick ore,

Ver. 667. ——— *and fierce with* graſped arms
Claſh'd *on their ſounding* ſhields *the din of war,*
Hurling defiance *toward the vault of Heaven.*] *Graſped*, joined to *arms*, determines the expreſſion to mean *ſwords* only, which were ſpoken of a little before, v. 664. PEARCE.

The known cuſtom of the Roman ſoldiers, when they applauded a ſpeech of their general, was *to ſmite their ſhields with their ſwords.* BENTLEY.

Milton here imitates both Spenſer and Shakſpeare: *Faer. Qu.* i. iv. 40.

" Therewith they gan to *hurlen* greedily,
" Redoubted battaile ready to darraine,
" And *claſh their ſhields*, and ſhake their ſwords on high."

Julius Ceſar, A. v. S. i.

" *Defiance*, traitors, *hurl* we in your teeth." UPTON.

Ver. 669. ——— *toward the* vault *of Heaven.*] So Spenſer, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*,

" Whatſo the Heaven in his wide *vault* contains."

Milton again uſes the word *vault* by a ſimilar figure, B. iv. 821.

" Now had Night meaſur'd, with her ſhadowy cone,
" Half way up hill this vaſt *ſublunar vault.*"

The ſame image is beautifully uſed by Buchanan, *Pſalm* xix. 2.

" Qui templa Olympi *fornice* flammeo
" Suſpendit—" *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 673. *That in* his womb *was hid*] *Womb* is here uſed in

The work of ſulphur. Thither, wing'd with ſpeed,
A numerous brigade haſten'd: as when bands
Of pioneers, with ſpade and pickax arm'd,
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or caſt a rampart. Mammon led them on;
Mammon, the leaſt erected Spirit that fell
From Heaven; for e'en in Heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,

as large a ſenſe as the Latin *uterus*, which Virgil applies to a ſtag, *Æn.* vii. 490.

" *Ille* manum patiens, menſæque aſſuetus herili,"

but afterwards Aſcanius wounds him, v. 499.

" Pérque *uterum* ſonitu, pérque ilia venit arundo."

Virgil uſes the ſame word, in ſpeaking of a wolf, *Æn.* xi. 813. NEWTON.

Ver. 678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriack, and ſignifies *riches*. " Ye cannot ſerve God and *Mammon*," *Mat.* vi. 24. *Mammon* is by ſome ſuppoſed to be the *god of riches*; and is accordingly perſonified by Milton, and had been before by Spenſer; whoſe deſcription of Mammon and his cave Milton ſeems to have had his eye upon in ſeveral places. NEWTON.

Ver. 682. *The riches of Heaven's pavement,*] So Homer, of Heaven's pavement, *Il.* iv. 2, χρυσὸν ὑπὸ ἀστερόεν. " And St. John, of the heavenly Jeruſalem, *Rev.* xxi. 21. " And the *ſtreet* of the city is *pure gold*." NEWTON.

Dr. Gillies well obſerves, that Mammon could not have this ſordid diſpoſition of admiring *the gold of the ſtreet*, rather than the bleſſed viſion of God, before he ſinned. What is ſaid of him, therefore, from v. 679 to v. 684, though expreſſed in general

Than aught, divine or holy, elſe enjoy'd
In viſion beatifick: by him firſt
Men alſo, and by his ſuggeſtion taught,
Ranſack'd the center, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth

terms, muſt be underſtood only of the time he remained in Heaven after he joined Satan.

Ver. 684. ——————— *by him firſt*
Men alſo, and by his ſuggeſtion taught,] Dr. Bentley ſays, the poet aſſigns as *two* cauſes *him* and *his ſuggeſtion*, which are one and the ſame thing. This obſervation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a ſuperſtitious opinion, generally believed amongſt the miners: That there are a ſort of Devils which converſe much in minerals, where they are frequently ſeen to buſy and employ themſelves in all the operations of the workmen; they will dig, cleanſe, melt, and ſeparate the metals. See G. *Agricola de Animantibus ſubterraneis.* So that Milton prophetically ſuppoſes *Mammon* and his clan to have taught the ſons of earth by example and practical inſtruction, as well as precept and mental ſuggeſtion.
WARBURTON.

Notwithſtanding all *the appearance of accuracy*, Dr. Bentley's obſervation is a hypercritical miſtake. "*Him and his ſuggeſtion*," mean, indeed, *one and the ſame thing*; but are not aſſigned by the Poet as *two cauſes*, but as *one* only. We have the like expreſſions commonly in proſe; "It was *you and your perſuaſion* that made me do ſo or ſo:" "It was *he and his example* which influenced others." And we meet with a paſſage in Book xi. 261. very like this:

"To *theſe* that ſober race of men, whoſe lives
"Religious titled them the ſons of God,
"Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
"Ignobly, *to the trains and to the ſmiles*
"*Of theſe fair atheiſts.*" EDWARDS.

Ver. 687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth*] Ovid, *Met.* i. 138.

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For treaſures, better hid. Soon had his crew
Open'd into the hill a ſpacious wound,
And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that ſoil may beſt
Deſerve the precious bane. And here let thoſe,
Who boaſt in mortal things, and wondering tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame,
And ſtrength and art, are eaſily out-done
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they with inceſſant toil
And hands innumerable ſcarce perform.
Nigh on the plain, in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluc'd from the lake, a ſecond multitude

——— " Itum eſt in viſcera terræ,
" Quáſque recondiderat, Stygiiſque admoverat umbris,
" Effodiuntur opes." HUME.

Ver. 688. *For treaſures, better hid.*] Hor. *Od.* III. iii. 49.
" Aurum *irrepertum*, et ſic *melius* ſitum." NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame,*
And ſtrength and art, &c.] This paſſage has been miſunderſtood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be conſtrued in the genitive caſe with *fame*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame*, and how their *ſtrength and art, are eaſily outdone* &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 699. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360,000 men employed for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. i. and Pliny, Lib. 36. c. 12. NEWTON.

Ver. 702. ——— founded *the maſſy ore*,] So the firſt edition

With wonderous art founded the maſſy ore,
Severing each kind, and ſcumm'd the bullion
droſs:
A third as ſoon had form'd within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By ſtrange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook;
As in an organ, from one blaſt of wind,
To many a row of pipes the ſound-board breathes.
Anon, out of the earth, a fabrick huge
Roſe like an exhalation, with the ſound
Of dulcet ſymphonies and voices ſweet,
Built like a temple, where pilaſters round

reads; but in the ſucceeding editions, till Dr. Bentley's, it is *found out*. *Founded*, that is, *melted* the maſſy ore.

Ver. 704. ——— *the bullion droſs:*] As one would ſay, *gold-droſs*, or *ſilver-droſs*, the droſs which aroſe from the melted metal in refining it. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 708. *As in an organ*, &c.] This ſimile is as exact, as it is new. And we may obſerve, that Milton frequently fetches his images from muſick, more than any other Engliſh poet; as he was very fond of it, and was himſelf a performer upon the organ and other inſtruments. NEWTON.

Ver. 711. *Roſe like an exhalation*,] The ſudden riſing of Pandemonium is ſuppoſed, and with great probability, [by Peck] to be a hint taken from ſome of the moving ſcenes, and machines, invented for the ſtage by the famous Inigo Jones. NEWTON.

Pope has adopted the imagery, *Temp. of Fame*, v. 91.

"The growing towers, *like exhalations*, riſe."

Ver. 713. ——— *where pilaſters round* &c.] Milton has been blamed for deſcribing this ſtructure with ſuch an affectation of knowledge in the ſcience of architecture: yet in the uſe of ſome of theſe terms he is juſtified by preceding poets. Thus Spenſer, de-

Were ſet, and Dorick pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or freeze, with boſſy ſculptures graven:
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcairo, ſuch magnificence
Equall'd in all their glories, to enſhrine
Belus or Sérapis their Gods, or ſeat
Their kings, when Egypt with Aſſyria ſtrove
In wealth and luxury. The aſcending pile

ſcribing the bridge that leads to the temple of Venus, *Faer. Qu.* iv. x. 6.

" And, arched all with porches, did arize
" On ſtately *pillars* fram'd after the *Doricke guize.*"

And Shakſpeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. iv.

——— " the *roof* o' the chamber
" With *golden* cherubim is *fretted.*"

Again, *Hamlet*, A. ii. S. ii. " This majeſtical *roof fretted* with *golden* fire." So Pope, again from Milton, *Temp. of Fame*, v. 138.

" Wide vaults appear, and *roofs* of *fretted gold.*"

Ver. 717. ——— *Not Babylon*, &c.] He had challenged *Babylon* and *Memphis*, v. 694; and now, as quite forgetful, he reiterates it, *Babylon* and *Alcairo*: This latter the worſe; becauſe *Alcairo* is a modern name, and not fit to join with *Belus* or *Serapis*. BENTLEY.

Ver. 720. *Belus or* Sérapis] There are authorities, which may ſerve to juſtify in Milton this departure from the claſſical accent upon the ſecond ſyllable of *Serápis*; for we read in Martianus Capella,

" Te *Seräpin* Nilus &c."

And, in Prudentius,

" Iſis enim et *Seräpin*, &c." PEARCE.

Stood fix'd her ſtately highth: and ſtraight the doors,
Opening their brazen folds, diſcover, wide
Within, her ample ſpaces, o'er the ſmooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof
Pendant by ſubtle magick many a row
Of ſtarry lamps and blazing creſſets, fed

Ver. 723. *Stood fix'd her ſtately highth:*] This is a Greek conſtruction. The meaning is, that the building ſtood firm along the whole of its height, or it ſtood now firm and complete in all its parts. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 725. *Within,*] An adverb here, and not a prepoſition; and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be joined in conſtruction with her *ample ſpaces.* So Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 483.

" Apparet domus *intus,* et atria longa pateſcunt."

NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *her ample ſpaces,*] A beautiful Latiniſm. So Seneca, deſcribing the deſcent of Hercules into Hell, *Herc. Fur.* iii. 673.

" Hinc *ampla* vacuis *ſpatia* laxantur locis." THYER.

Ver. 728. ——— *and blazing* creſſets, *fed*
With Naphtha *and* Aſphaltus,] A *creſſet* is any great blazing light, as a *beacon. Naphtha* is of ſo unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the ſun-beams. *Aſphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy ſubſtance.

RICHARDSON.

Shakſpeare alſo uſes the word *creſſet, Hen.* iv. Part i. A. iii. Glendower ſpeaks:

——— " At my nativity
" The front of heaven was full of fiery ſhapes,
" Of burning *creſſets.*" NEWTON.

The word is derived from the French *croiſſette,* according to Sir Thomas Hanmer; becauſe the *beacons,* anciently, had *croſſes* on

With Naphtha and Aſphaltus, yielded light
As from a ſky. The haſty multitude
Admiring enter'd; and the work ſome praiſe,
And ſome the architect: his hand was known
In Heaven by many a tower'd ſtructure high,
Where ſcepter'd Angels held their reſidence,
And ſat as princes; whom the ſupreme King
Exalted to ſuch power, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard, or unador'd,

the top of them.—In Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 74, the ſtars are called "the heaven's bright *creſſets*." In Golding's tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, 1575, Shakſpeare's combination occurs in the fourth book: "A *burning creſſet* ſteept in blood." But there a *creſſet* is a *torch*.

Ver. 737. *Hierarchy*,] This word ſignifies *ſacred principality*: According to the writer of the book concerning the *celeſtial hierarchy*, falſely attributed to Dionyſius the Areopagite, the angelick world is divided into *three orders*. The firſt contains, Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; the next order is made up of Dominations, (Δυνάμεις) Princedoms, (Κυριότητες) Powers, (ἐξουσίαι.) Under the third, and loweſt order are ranged, Principalities, (ἀρχαὶ) Archangels, and Angels. It would ſeem evident, that Milton had ſome view to this arrangement, in his diſtinction of the orders of angels through all his work. Dionyſ. Areop. Περὶ ἱερ. ἱεραρχ. cap. vi. et vii. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

See alſo note, B. v. 750. Dante, who was indebted to the preceding ſyſtem of angels, makes reſpectful mention of Dionyſius, in his *Paradiſo*, c. x. 115.

Ver. 738. *Nor was his name unheard*,] Dr. Bentley ſays, "This is careleſly expreſſed. Why does he not tell his name in Greece, as well as his Latin name? and *Mulciber* was not ſo common a name as *Vulcan*." I think it is very exactly expreſſed. Milton is here ſpeaking of a Devil exerciſing the *founder's* art:

In ancient Greece; and in Auſonian land
Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell
From Heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the cryſtal battlements: from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A ſummer's day; and with the ſetting ſun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling ſtar,
On Lemnos the Æ'gean iſle: thus they relate,

and ſays he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the claſſick world, *Hephæſtos*, *Vulcan*, and *Mulciber*, the laſt only of which deſigning the office of a *founder*, he has very judiciouſly choſen that. WARBURTON.

Ver. 740. ——— *and how he fell*
From Heaven, &c.] Alluding to Homer, *Iliad* i. 590, &c. It is worth obſerving how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only ſays with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, *from morn to noon, from noon to evening*, and this *a ſummer's day*. There is a ſimilar paſſage in the *Odyſſey*, where Ulyſſes deſcribes his ſleeping twenty-four hours together, and, to make the time ſeem the longer, divides it into ſeveral parts, and points them out diſtinctly to us, *Odyſſ.* vii. 288.

Εὗδον παννύχιος, ϰ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἠῶ, ϰ᾽ μέσον ἦμαρ,
Δύσίλο τ᾽ ἠέλιος, ϰ᾽ με γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν. NEWTON.

Ver. 742. *Sheer o'er the* cryſtal battlements:] "*The cryſtall battlements* of heauen," is a phraſe in R. Niccols's "England's Eliza," *Mir. for Mag.* 1610, p. 835; as alſo, in the *Mirour*, p. 688.

Ver. 746. *On Lemnos, the* Æ'gean *iſle:*] So he pronounces *Æ'gean* in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 238. Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty; for, in his tranſlation of *Taſſo*, c. i. ſt. 60, he ſays,

"O'er *Æ'gean* ſeas, through many a Greekiſh hold."

Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor aught avail'd him now
To have built in Heaven high towers; nor did he 'ſcape
By all his engines, but was headlong ſent
With his induſtrious crew, to build in Hell.
Mean while the winged heralds, by command
Of ſovran power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's ſound, throughout the hoſt proclaim
A ſolemn council, forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium; the high capital

Again, c. xii. ſt. 63.

" As *Ægean* ſeas, &c." PEARCE.

Ver. 748. ——— *nor aught avail'd him now* &c.] Homer, *Iliad* v. 53.

Ἀλλ' ὃ οἱ τότε γὲ χραῖσμ' Ἀρῆιος ἰοχέαιρα,
Οὐδὲ ἐκηβολίαι.

And Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 843.

" Nec tibi deſertæ in dumis coluiſſe Dianam
" Profuit." NEWTON.

Ver. 750. *By all his* engines,] *Devices, contrivances;* as in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. v. ſt. 15.

" 'Gainſt him yet vain did all her *engins* prove." BOWLE.

Ver. 752. *Mean while the winged* heralds,] *Haralds*, in Milton's own editions; which he ſpells, according to Richardſon, from the Italian *araldo*. Yet *harold* and *harauld* often occur in ancient Engliſh books. See Note on *Pericles*, Steevens's Shakſpeare, 1793, vol. xiii. p. 489.

Ver. 756. *At Pandemonium*;] Compare Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1ſt. p. 40.

Of Satan and his peers: their ſummons call'd
From every band and ſquared regiment
By place or choice the worthieſt; they anon,
With hundreds and with thouſands, trooping came,
Attended: all acceſs was throng'd; the gates
And porches wide, but chief the ſpacious hall
(Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
Defied the beſt of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or career with lance,)

" On Ida hill there ſtands a caſtle ſtrong;
" They, that it built, call it *Pantheothen:*
" Hither reſort a raſcall rabble throng
" Of miſcreant wights: But if that wiſer men
" May name that fort, *Pandemoniathen*
" They would it cleep."——

There was a book, publiſhed ſoon after the reſtoration of K. Charles II, entitled " *Pandemonium,*" the ſubject of which is witchcraft.

Ver. 763. *Though like a* cover'd field,] The *field for combat*, the *liſts; Champ clos.* The hall of Pandemonium, one room only, is like a ſpacious field encloſed for martial exerciſes on horſeback. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 764. ——— *at the* Soldan's *chair*] He alludes to thoſe accounts of the ſingle combats between the Saracens and Chriſtians in Spain and Paleſtine, of which the old romances are full. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Soldan is an old Engliſh word, uſed for *Sultan;* probably from the Italian, *Soldano*, or, as Dante writes it, *Soldan;* Waller alſo employs it. And *Panim*, another word frequent both in our ancient poetry and proſe, is here adopted inſtead of *Pagan.*

Ver. 766. *To mortal combat, or career with lance,*)] Milton

Thick ſwarm'd, both on the ground and in the air
Bruſh'd with the hiſs of ruſling wings. As bees
In ſpring time, when the ſun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770

has carefully diſtinguiſhed the two different methods of combat in the *champ clos*. Sometimes theſe fights were only for ſport, and to ſhow their addreſs. Upon theſe occaſions the combatants made uſe of ſpears and ſwords, whoſe points were blunted beforehand. At other times theſe combats were uſed to decide differences between particular perſons, who offered to fight, that the victory might ſhow which was in the right. In this caſe, the death of one of the parties generally decided the queſtion, and the victor was pronounced innocent. *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 768. *As bees* &c.] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding, to a *ſwarm of bees*, Il. ii. 87. There are ſuch ſimilies alſo in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 430, *Æn.* vi. 707. But Milton carries the ſimilitude farther than either of his great maſters, and mentions the bees *conferring their ſtate-affairs*, as he is going to give an account of the conſultations of the devils.

NEWTON.

Ver. 769. *In ſpring time, when the ſun with Taurus rides,*] In April. Virgil, *Georg.* i. 217.

" Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
" Taurus." HUME.

Ibid. ——— *when the ſun* with *Taurus rides,*] Dr. Bentley reads, " *in* Taurus," and ſays, " Does Taurus *ride* too, a conſtellation fixed?" Yes, or elſe Ovid is wrong throughout his whole *Faſti*, where he deſcribes the riſing and ſetting of the ſigns of the zodiack: See what he ſays of the riſing of *Taurus*, v. 603. And Milton, in B. x. 663, ſpeaking of the fixed ſtars, ſays, " which of them *riſing with the ſun or falling*, &c." PEARCE.

Ver. 770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 21.

——— " Quum prima novi ducent examina reges
" Vere ſuo, ludétque favis emiſſa juventus." HUME.

In cluſters: they among freſh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the ſmoothed plank,
The ſuburb of their ſtraw-built citadel,
New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
Their ſtate affairs. So thick the aery croud
Swarm'd and were ſtraiten'd; till, the ſignal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who ſeem'd
In bigneſs to ſurpaſs Earth's giant ſons,
Now leſs than ſmalleſt dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberleſs, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or faery elves,
Whoſe midnight revels, by a foreſt ſide
Or fountain, ſome belated peaſant ſees,
Or dreams he ſees, while over-head the moon
Sits arbitreſs, and nearer to the earth

Ver. 774. ——— *expatiate*] In its Latin ſenſe, ſignifying to *walk abroad*. So Virgil uſes it, *Æn.* iv. 62.

" Aut ante ora Deûm, pingues *ſpatiatur* ad aras."

And Cicero, *Orat.* c. iii. " Ut palæſtricè *ſpatiari* in Xyſto liceat." *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver 783. ——— *ſees*,

Or dreams he ſees,] From Apollonius Rhodius, one of his favourite authors, *Argonaut.* iv. 1479.

——— ὥς τίς τι νέῳ ἐνὶ ἤματι μήνη
Ἢ ἴδεν, ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύσασαν ἰδέσθαι.

Virgil has copied the paſſage, *Æn.* vi. 453, 454.

Ver. 785. *Sits* arbitreſs,] *Witneſs*, ſpectatreſs. So Horace, *Epod.* v. 49.

" O rebus meis
" Non infideles *arbitræ*
" Nox et Diana." HEYLIN.

Wheels her pale courſe; they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund muſick charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to ſmalleſt forms
Reduc'd their ſhapes immenſe, and were at large,
Though without number ſtill, amidſt the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimenſions, like themſelves,
The great Seraphick Lords and Cherubim
In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat;

Ibid. ——— *nearer to the earth*] This is ſaid in alluſion to the ſuperſtitious notion of witches and faeries having great power over the moon. Virgil, *Eclog.* viii. 69.

" Carmina vel cœlo poſſunt *deducere* lunam." NEWTON.

Ver. 786. ——— *they, on their mirth and dance Intent*, &c.] There is a ſimilar night-ſcene in Horace, *Od.* i. iv. 5.

" Jam Cytherea *choros ducit* Venus, *imminente Lunâ*;
" Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes
" *Alterno terram quatiunt pede.*"

Ver. 790. ——— *and were* at large,] Though numberleſs, they had ſo contracted their dimenſions, as to have room enough to be *au large*, French; *a largo*, Italian; and be yet in the hall. So, in B. xi. 626.

" Ere long to ſwim *at large*." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 795. *In cloſe receſs and ſecret* conclave *ſat*;] It is not impoſſible that the poet might here allude to what is ſtrictly and properly called *the conclave*; for it is certain that he had not a much better opinion of the one than of the other of theſe aſſemblies. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton means the *hall*, in which the Cardinals meet, after the death of a *Pope*, to chooſe a ſucceſſour: But, in a note on B. x.

A thouſand Demi-gods on golden ſeats,
Frequent and full. After ſhort ſilence then,
And ſummons read, the great conſult began.

457, he obſerves that the Devils are frequently deſcribed by metaphors taken from the *Turks;* Satan being called the *Sultan*, and his council the *Divan:* which council "is here ſaid *to ſit in ſecret* CONCLAVE; the *Devil*, the *Turk*, and the *Pope*, being commonly thought to be nearly related, and often joined together."

Without diſputing the *triple alliance* thus aſſerted, I will adduce a paſſage, to which Milton perhaps adverted rather than immediately to *Turk* or *Pope*, from P. Fletcher's *Locuſts*, 1627, p. 36.

"And now the *Infernal Powers*, through the ayer driving,
"For ſpeed their leather pineons broad diſplay;
"Now, at eternall Death's wide gate arriving,
"Sinne gives them paſſage; ſtill they cut their way,
"Till, to the bottome of *Hell's palace* diving,
"They enter Dis' *deepe* CONCLAVE: there they ſtay,
"Waiting the reſt; and now they all are met,
"A *full* foule *Senate*, now *they all are ſet*,
"The horride *Court*, big ſwolne with th' hideous *Counſel*, ſwet."

See alſo my note on *Par. Regained*, B. i. 42.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The conſultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: Some adviſe it, others diſſuade: A third propoſal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to ſearch the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferiour to themſelves, about this time to be created: Their doubt, who ſhall be ſent on this difficult ſearch; Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the reſt betake them ſeveral ways, and to ſeveral employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He paſſes on his journey to Hell gates; finds them ſhut, and who ſat there to guard them; by whom at length they are opened, and diſcover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he paſſes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the ſight of this new world which he ſought.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

HIGH on a throne of royal ſtate, which far
Outſhone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous Eaſt with richeſt hand
Showers on her kings barbarick pearl and gold,

Ver. 2. ——— the wealth *of Ormus and of Ind,*] That is, *diamonds*; a principal part of the wealth of India, where they are found, and of the iſland Ormus, in the Perſian gulf, which is the mart for them. PEARCE.

Ormus, the greateſt mart in all the *Orient* for all ſorts of jewels. Howell's Letters, p. 110. BOWLE.

Ver. 3. *Or where the gorgeous Eaſt* &c.] Spenſer has the ſame thought, *Faery Queen*, iii. iv. 23.

——————— " It did paſſe
" The *wealth of th' Eaſt*, and *pompe of* Perſian *kings*."
NEWTON.

Ver. 4. *Showers on her kings barbarick pearl and gold,*] It was the eaſtern ceremony, at the coronation of their kings, to powder them with *gold-duſt* and *ſeed-pearl*.—In the Life of Timur-bec, or Tamerlane, written by a Perſian contemporary author, are the following words, as tranſlated by Monſ. Petit de la Croix, in the account there given of his coronation, B. ii. c. i. " *Les princes du ſang royal et les emirs repandirent à pleines mains*" [with liberal hand] " *ſur ſa tête quantité d'or et de pierreries ſelon la coûtume.*" WARBURTON.

Satan exalted ſat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence: and, from deſpair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aſpires
Beyond thus high; inſatiate to purſue
Vain war with Heaven; and, by ſucceſs untaught,
His proud imaginations thus diſplay'd.
Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven;
For ſince no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigour, though oppreſs'd and fall'n,
I give not Heaven for loſt. From this deſcent
Celeſtial virtues riſing, will appear
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And truſt themſelves to fear no ſecond fate.
Me though juſt right, and the fix'd laws of
Heaven,

Ibid. ——————— barbarick *pearl and gold,*] Virgil. *Æn.* ii. 504.

" *Barbarico* poſtes *auro* ſpoliiſque ſuperbi."

And Taſſo, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. ſt. 10.

" E ricco di *barbarico* ornamento,
" In habito regal ſplender ſi vede." NEWTON.

Ver. 11. *Powers and Dominions,*] As St. Paul calls the Angels, *Thrones*, or *Dominions*, or *Principalities*, or *Powers*, Col. i. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 12. This, and the five following lines, ſhould be encloſed in a parentheſis. LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 18. Me *though juſt right*, &c.] *Me* is rightly placed firſt in the ſentence, being the emphatical word and the accuſative caſe governed by the two verbs which follow, *create* and *eſtabliſhed*. NEWTON.

Lord Monboddo adduces this paſſage, " *Me though juſt right*" to the end of the ſentence, as an elegant example of artificial

Did firſt create your leader; next, free choice,
With what beſides, in counſel or in fight,
Hath been achiev'd of merit; yet this loſs,
Thus far at leaſt recover'd, hath much more
Eſtabliſh'd in a ſafe unenvied throne,
Yielded with full conſent. The happier ſtate
In Heaven, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferiour; but who here
Will envy whom the higheſt place expoſes
Foremoſt to ſtand againſt the Thunderer's aim,
Your bulwark, and condemns to greateſt ſhare
Of endleſs pain? Where there is then no good
For which to ſtrive, no ſtrife can grow up there
From faction; for none ſure will claim in Hell
Precedence, none, whoſe portion is ſo ſmall

arrangement, and conſiders it as a perfect pattern of rhetorical compoſition, hardly to be equalled in Engliſh. He gives a ſimilar inſtance of the collocation of the pronoun from Horace, *Od.* i. v.

——— "*Me* tabula ſacer
"Votiva paries indicat uvida
"Suſpendiſſe potenti
"Veſtimenta maris deo."

Ver. 20. ——— *in* counſel *or in fight,*] Perhaps it ſhould be *council*; as if the poet had ſaid, "his merit in the *ſenate* or in the *field*." Fenton reads *council*.

Ver. 33. ——— *none, whoſe portion* &c.] Here ſeems to be ſome obſcurity and difficulty in the ſyntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the paſſage thus:

——— "for none ſure will claim in Hell
"Precedence, none. Whoſe portion is ſo ſmall
"Of preſent pain, that with ambitious mind
"*He'll* covet more?" NEWTON.

Of preſent pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more. With this advantage then
To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
More than can be in Heaven, we now return
To claim our juſt inheritance of old,
Surer to proſper than proſperity
Could have aſſur'd us; and, by what beſt way,
Whether of open war, or covert guile,
We now debate: Who can adviſe, may ſpeak.
He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, ſcepter'd king,
Stood up, the ſtrongeſt and the fierceſt Spirit
That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by deſpair:
His truſt was with the Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in ſtrength; and rather than be leſs
Car'd not to be at all; with that care loſt
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worſe,
He reck'd not; and theſe words thereafter ſpake.

Ver. 40. ——————— *by what beſt way,*
Whether of open war, or covert guile,
We now debate: Who can adviſe, may ſpeak.] Compare Jove's ſpeech to the gods, reſpecting the Titaneſs, in Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, vii. vi. 21.

——————— "It now behoves us to *adviſe*
"*What way is beſt* to drive her to retire,
"Whether by *open force*, or counſell wiſe,
"Areed, ye ſonnes of God! as *beſt ye can deviſe.*"

See alſo ii. xi. 7.

"To aſſayle with *open force* or *hidden guyle.*"

Ver. 43. ——————— *ſcepter'd king,*] As Homer ſays, *Iliad* i. 279, σκηπτοῦχος Βασιλεὺς. NEWTON.

Ver. 50. *He* reck'd *not*;] He *made no account of.* To *reck*

My ſentence is for open war: Of wiles,
More unexpert, I boaſt not: them let thoſe
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
For, while they ſit contriving, ſhall the reſt,
Millions that ſtand in arms, and longing wait
The ſignal to aſcend, ſit lingering here
Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling place
Accept this dark opprobrious den of ſhame,
The priſon of his tyranny who reigns
By our delay? No, let us rather chooſe,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once,
O'er Heaven's high towers to force reſiſtleſs way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Againſt the Torturer; when to meet the noiſe
Of his almighty engine he ſhall hear
Infernal thunder; and, for lightning, ſee
Black fire and horrour ſhot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his throne itſelf

is much the ſame as to *reckon*. He ſpake *thereafter*, that is, *accordingly*; as one who made no account of God, or hell, or any thing. NEWTON.

Ver. 51. *My ſentence is for open war: Of wiles, More unexpert, I boaſt not:* &c.] Compare Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. ii. ſt. 51.

" Faccia Iſmeno, incantando, ogni ſua prova;
" Egli, a cui le malie ſon d' arme in vece:
" Trattiamo il ferro pur noi cavalieri:
" Queſt' arte è noſtra, e 'n queſta ſol ſi ſperi."

Ver. 56. ——— ſit lingering *here*] *Sit lingering*, to anſwer *ſit contriving*, v. 54. While they ſit contriving, ſhall the reſt ſit lingering? NEWTON.

Mix'd with Tartarean ſulphur, and ſtrange fire,
His own invented torments. But perhaps
The way ſeems difficult and ſteep to ſcale
With upright wing againſt a higher foe.
Let ſuch bethink them, if the ſleepy drench
Of that forgetful lake benumm not ſtill,
That in our proper motion we aſcend
Up to our native ſeat: Deſcent and fall
To us is adverſe. Who but felt of late,
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
Inſulting, and purſued us through the deep,
With what compulſion and laborious flight
We ſunk thus low? The aſcent is eaſy then;
The event is fear'd; ſhould we again provoke
Our ſtronger, ſome worſe way his wrath may find
To our deſtruction; if there be in Hell
Fear to be worſe deſtroy'd: What can be worſe
Than to dwell here, driven out from bliſs, condemn'd
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguiſhable fire
Muſt exerciſe us without hope of end,

Ver. 69. Mix'd with *Tartarean ſulphur,*] *Filled with:* It is an imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 487.

" At domus interior gemitu miſeróque tumultu
" *Miſcetur.*"——PEARCE.

Ver. 89. *Muſt* exerciſe *us*] He uſes the word like the Latin *exerceo*, which ſignifies to *vex* and *trouble*, as well as to practiſe and employ; as in Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 453.

" Non te nullius *exercent* numinis iræ." NEWTON.

The vaſſals of his anger, when the ſcourge
Inexorably, and the torturing hour,
Calls us to penance? More deſtroy'd than thus,
We ſhould be quite aboliſh'd, and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incenſe
His utmoſt ire? which, to the highth enrag'd,
Will either quite conſume us, and reduce
To nothing this eſſential; happier far
Than miſerable to have eternal being:
Or, if our ſubſtance be indeed divine,

Ver. 90. *The* vaſſals *of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vaſſals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon ſays, B. ii. 252. "*Our ſtate of ſplendid vaſſalage.*" And *the vaſſals of anger* is an expreſſion confirmed by Spenſer in his *Tears of the Muſes,*

"Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,
"The *vaſſals* of God's *wrath*, and ſlaves of ſin."

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, *Rom.* ix. 22. "*The veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction,* Σκεύη ὀργῆς," I ſuſpect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept cloſe to the Scripture ſtyle, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vaſſals* or *veſſels.* BENTLEY.

In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1624, p. 39, the devils are divided into *nine* kinds; the *third* of which, "are thoſe *veſſels of anger*, inventers of all miſchiefe, &c. whom Eſay cals veſſels of fury: Their prince is Beliall."

Ver. 91. ——— *and the torturing hour*
Calls us to penance?] To puniſhment. Milton here ſuppoſes the ſufferings of the damned ſpirits not to be always alike intenſe, but that they have ſome intermiſſions. HUME.

Poſſibly Milton had in view the intermiſſion, which the Ghoſt in *Hamlet* deſcribes:

——— "My *hour* is *almoſt come,*
"When I to ſulphurous and tormenting flames
"Muſt *render up myſelf.*"

And cannot ceaſe to be, we are at worſt
On this ſide nothing; and by proof we feel
Our power ſufficient to diſturb his Heaven,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
Though inacceſſible, his fatal throne:
Which, if not victory, is yet revenge.
He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Deſperate revenge, and battle dangerous
To leſs than Gods. On the other ſide up-roſe
Belial, in act more graceful and humane:
A fairer perſon loſt not Heaven; he ſeem'd

Ver. 104. ——— *his* fatal *throne:*] That is, *upheld by fate*, as he expreſſes it, B. i. 133. NEWTON.

Ver. 106. *He ended frowning*, &c.] Lord Monboddo obſerves, that nobody of any taſte or underſtanding will deny the beauty of the following paragraph; in the whole of which there is not one metaphorical or figurative word. In what then does the beauty of it conſiſt? the learned writer replies, in the juſtneſs of the thought, in the propriety of the expreſſion, in the art of the compoſition, and in the variety of the verſification.

Ver. 108. *To leſs than* Gods.] He gave it "To leſs than *God*." For it was dangerous to the Angels. BENTLEY.

This emendation appears very probable at firſt view: But the Angels, though often called *Gods*, yet ſometimes are only compared or ſaid to be *like the Gods*, as in B. i. 570.

"Their viſages and ſtature *as of Gods*;"

and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is ſaid, B. vi. 301, that "*likeſt Gods* they ſeemed;" and of two others, ibid. 366.

"Two potent thrones, that to be *leſs than Gods*
"Diſdain'd:"

And, in B. ix. 937, a manifeſt diſtinction is made between Gods and *Angels* who are called *Demi-Gods*. The preſent reading, therefore, "To leſs than *Gods*," may be juſtified. NEWTON.

For dignity compos'd, and high exploit:
But all was falſe, and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worſe appear
The better reaſon, to perplex and daſh
Matureſt counſels: for his thoughts were low;
To vice induſtrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and ſlothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with perſuaſive accent thus began.

I ſhould be much for open war, O Peers,
As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
Main reaſon to perſuade immediate war,
Did not diſſuade me moſt, and ſeem to caſt
Ominous conjecture on the whole ſucceſs;
When he, who moſt excels in fact of arms,

Ver. 113. *But all was falſe and hollow*;] After theſe words a parentheſis commences, which comes down to the words, "*for his thoughts were low*," which can only connect with the words, "*But all was falſe and hollow*." LORD MONBODDO.

It may be obſerved, that Glover has copied his *Epialtes* from Milton's Belial, *Leonidas*, B. ii. 226, &c.

Ver. 114. *Dropt manna*,] The ſame expreſſion, but applied differently, in Shakſpeare's *Merch. of Venice*, A. v. S. ult.

"Fair ladies, you *drop manna* in the way
"Of ſtarved people." NEWTON.

Sidney, in his *Arcadia*, has a phraſe derived from the ſcriptural account of manna; "her HEAVENLY-DEWED *tongue*," 13th edit. p. 140.

Ibid. ——— *and could make the worſe appear*
The better reaſon,] Word for word from the known profeſſion of the ancient Sophiſts, Τὸν λόγον τὸν ἥττω κρείττω ποιεῖν. BENTLEY.

Ver. 124. ——— *excels* in fact of arms,] From the Italian, *fatto d' arme*, a battle. HEYLIN.

In what he counſels, and in what excels,
Miſtruſtful, grounds his courage on deſpair
And utter diſſolution, as the ſcope
Of all his aim, after ſome dire revenge.
Firſt, what revenge? The towers of Heaven are fill'd
With armed watch, that render all acceſs
Impregnable: oft on the bordering deep
Encamp their legions; or, with óbſcure wing,
Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
Scorning ſurpriſe. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell ſhould riſe
With blackeſt inſurrection, to confound
Heaven's pureſt light; yet our great enemy,
All incorruptible, would on his throne
Sit unpolluted; and the ethereal mould,

The phraſe is a ſimple Galliciſm; *en fait d' armes*; as, "maître *en fait d' armes.*" Curſory Remarks on ſome of our ancient poets, particularly Milton, 1789, p. 126.

Ver. 132. ——— *or with* óbſcure *wing*] There are ſeveral inſtances, in our elder writers, of this accentuation. Thus, in *the Cobler's Prophecie*, 1594;

"O what is fauor in an *óbſcure* place."

And in Shakſpeare more than once. Congreve, in his *Mourning Bride*, A. v. S. xi. gives the ſame accent:

——— "I've from the body
"Sever'd the head, and in an *óbſcure* corner
"Diſpos'd it —"

Ver. 138. ——— *would on his throne*
Sit unpolluted;] This is a reply to that part of Moloch's ſpeech, where he had threatened to mix the throne itſelf of God with infernal ſulphur and ſtrange fire. NEWTON.

Incapable of ſtain, would ſoon expel
Her miſchief, and purge off the baſer fire,
Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
Is flat deſpair: We muſt exaſperate
The Almighty Victor to ſpend all his rage,
And that muſt end us; that muſt be our cure,
To be no more. Sad cure! for who would loſe,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Thoſe thoughts that wander through eternity,
To periſh rather, ſwallow'd up and loſt
In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of ſenſe and motion? And who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry foe
Can give it, or will ever? how he can,
Is doubtful; that he never will, is ſure.
Will he, ſo wiſe, let looſe at once his ire,
Belike through impotence, or unaware,

Ver. 142. ——— *Thus repuls'd, our final hope*
Is flat deſpair:] Shakſpeare, *K. Hen. VI.* A. ii. S. iii,
" Our hap is loſs, *our hope but ſad deſpair.*" MALONE.

Ver. 146. ——— *Sad cure! for who would loſe,* &c.] Belial's remark here finely expreſſes what Addiſon, in *Cato*, calls the " ſecret dread, and inward horrour, *of falling into nought,*"

Ver. 151. *Devoid of ſenſe and* motion?] Dr. Bentley reads, " Devoid of ſenſe and *action:*" but *motion* includes *action*. Dr. Warburton and Mr. Upton think, that it ſhould be " *notion;*" but the common reading ſeems better, as it is ſtronger and expreſſes more; they ſhould be deprived not only of all *ſenſe* but of all *motion*, not only of all the *intellectual* but of all *vital* functions. NEWTON.

Ver. 156. ——— *impotence,*] It is here meant for the op-

To give his enemies their wiſh, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger ſaves
To puniſh endleſs? Wherefore ceaſe we then?
Say they who counſel war; we are decreed,
Reſerv'd, and deſtin'd to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we ſuffer more,
What can we ſuffer worſe? Is this then worſt,
Thus ſitting, thus conſulting, thus in arms?
What, when we fled amain, purſued, and ſtruck
With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and beſought
The deep to ſhelter us? this Hell then ſeem'd
A refuge from thoſe wounds: or when we lay
Chain'd on the burning lake? that ſure was worſe.
What if the breath, that kindled thoſe grim fires,

poſite to wiſdom, and is uſed frequently by the Latin writers to ſignify a *weakneſs of mind*, an *unſteadineſs in the government of our paſſions, or the conduct of our deſigns.* "Victoria ferociores *impotentioréſque* reddidit," Cic. *Epiſt. ad Fam.* ix. 9. "*Impotentia* dictorum et factorum;" *Tuſc. Diſp.* iv. 23. Hence we often meet with *impotens* animi, doloris, iræ, etc. PEARCE.

Hence the exclamation in *Samſon Agoniſtes*, which Dryden has copied;

"O *impotence of mind*, in body ſtrong!"

Ver. 170. *What if the* breath, *that* kindled *thoſe grim* fires,] *Iſaiah* xxx. 33. "For Tophet is ordained of old; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the *breath of the Lord*, like a ſtream of brimſtone, *doth kindle it.*" NEWTON.

The ſentiment in this, and the two following verſes, is probably borrowed from Æſchylus, where Oceanus addreſſes Prometheus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 311. edit. Schütz.

Εἰ δ' ὧδε ταχεῖᾳ καὶ τραχυμόρῳ λέγεις
Ῥίψει, τάχ' ἄν σύ, καὶ μακρὰν ἀνωτέρω
Θοαῖσιν, κλύοι Ζεύς, ὥστε σοι τὸν νῦν χόλον
Πλείστην μέχθειν σωτῆρα εἶναι δαμεῖν.

Awak'd, ſhould blow them into ſevenfold rage,
And plunge us in the flames? or, from above,
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? What if all
Her ſtores were open'd, and this firmament
Of Hell ſhould ſpout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrours, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps,
Deſigning or exhorting glorious war,
Caught in a fiery tempeſt ſhall be hurl'd
Each on his rock transfix'd, the ſport and prey
Of wracking whirlwinds; or for ever ſunk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
There to converſe with everlaſting groans,
Unreſpited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,

Ver. 174. His *red right hand*] So Horace ſays of Jupiter, "*rubente dextera.*" But, being ſpoken of *Vengeance*, it muſt be "*her* right hand," as in the next line "*her* ſtores." BENTLEY.

There is ſomething plauſible and ingenious in this obſervation; But by "*his*" ſeems to have been meant *God's*, who is mentioned ſo often in the courſe of the debate, that he might very well be underſtood without being named; and by "*her* ſtores" in the next line, I ſuppoſe, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of "*her* cataracts of fire." NEWTON.

"*Her* ſtores" are undoubtedly *Hell's* ſtores; the order of the relative and the antecedent being here inverted.

Ver. 180. *Caught in a fiery tempeſt* &c.] Again alluding to the fate of Ajax Oileus, as in B. i. 328. HUMB.

Ver. 181, ——— *the ſport and prey*
Of wracking whirlwinds;] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 75. "*Rapida ludibria ventis.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 185. *Unreſpited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,*] This way of

Ages of hopeleſs end? This would be worſe.
War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice diſſuades; for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whoſe eye
Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's highth
All theſe our motions vain ſees, and derides; 191

introducing ſeveral adjectives beginning with the ſame letter, without any conjunction, is very frequent among the Greek tragedians, whom Milton, I fancy, imitated. What ſtrength and beauty it adds, needs not to be mentioned. THYER.

It was a common practice among our own poets. Thus Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* vii. vii. 46.

"Unbodied, unſoul'd, unheard, unſeen."

And Fairfax, *Taſſo*, c. ii. ſt. 16.

"Unſeene, unmark'd, unpitied, unrewarded."

Many paſſages might be adduced. Milton was certainly fond of this practice. Thus B. iii. 231.

"Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unſought:"

Again, B. v. 899.

"Unſhaken, unſeduc'd, unterrified."

Again, *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 429.

"Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd."

And even in his proſe, vol. i. p. 255. ed. 1698, "But he, that will mould a modern biſhop into a primitive, muſt yield him to be elected by the popular voice, *undioceſt, unrevenued, unlorded.*" This practice appears to me to be ridiculed in Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 230.

"*Ungoverned, uncardinall'd, unlorded,*
"Outed of all his hopes, but not *unworded.*"

Ver. 191. ——— *ſees and derides;*] Alluding to *Pſalm* ii. 4. "He, *that ſitteth in the heavens*, ſhall laugh; the Lord ſhall *have them in deriſion.*" NEWTON.

Not more almighty to reſiſt our might
Than wiſe to fruſtrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
Thus trampled, thus expell'd to ſuffer here
Chains and theſe torments? better theſe than worſe,
By my advice; ſince fate inevitable
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The victor's will. To ſuffer, as to do,
Our ſtrength is equal, nor the law unjuſt
That ſo ordains: This was at firſt reſolv'd,
If we were wiſe, againſt ſo great a foe
Contending, and ſo doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when thoſe who at the ſpear are bold
And venturous, if that fail them, ſhrink and fear
What yet they know muſt follow, to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The ſentence of their conquerour: This is now
Our doom; which if we can ſuſtain and bear,
Our ſupreme foe in time may much remit
His anger; and perhaps, thus far remov'd,
Not mind us not offending, ſatisfied
With what is puniſh'd; whence theſe raging fires
Will ſlacken, if his breath ſtir not their flames.
Our purer eſſence then will overcome

Ver. 199. ——— *To ſuffer, as to do,*] So Scævola boaſted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how *to ſuffer, as to act*. "*Et facere et pati fortia* Romanum eſt," *Liv.* ii. 12. So Horace, *Od.* III. xxiv. 43. "Quidvis *et facere et pati.*"
NEWTON.

Their noxious vapour; or, inur'd, not feel;
Or, chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
This horrour will grow mild, this darkneſs light;
Beſides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting; ſince our preſent lot appears
For happy though but ill, for ill not worſt,
If we procure not to ourſelves more woe.
Thus Belial, with words cloth'd in reaſon's garb,
Counſell'd ignoble eaſe, and peaceful ſloth,
Not peace: And after him thus Mammon ſpake.
Either to diſenthrone the King of Heaven
We war, if war be beſt, or to regain
Our own right loſt: Him to unthrone we then
May hope, when everlaſting Fate ſhall yield

Ver. 220. *This horrour will grow mild, this darkneſs* light;] *Light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as mild; and the meaning is, "This darkneſs will in time become eaſy, as this horrour will grow mild:" Or, as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is an adjective uſed in the ſame ſenſe as when we ſay, "It is a *light* night." But it is not well expreſſed. NEWTON.

Ver. 226. ——— *words cloth'd in reaſon's garb,*] As in *Comus*, v. 759, of that ſpecious enchanter,

"Obtruding falſe rules *prank'd in reaſon's garb.*"

Ver. 227. *Counſell'd* ignoble eaſe,] Virgil's "*ignobile otium*," Georg. iv. 564. NEWTON.

To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the ſtrife:
The former, vain to hope, argues as vain
The latter: For what place can be for us
Within Heaven's bound, unleſs Heaven's Lord ſupreme
We overpower? Suppoſe he ſhould relent,
And publiſh grace to all, on promiſe made
Of new ſubjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his preſence humble, and receive
Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead ſing
Forc'd Halleluiahs; while he lordly ſits
Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes

Ver. 233. ——— *and Chaos judge the ſtrife:*] Between the King of Heaven and Us, not between Fate and Chance, as Dr. Bentley ſuppoſes. PEARCE.

Ver. 234. *The* former, *vain to hope,*] That is, to unthrone the King of Heaven, "argues as vain the *latter*," that is, to regain our own loſt right. NEWTON.

Ver. 244. ——— *and his altar* breathes
Ambroſial odours and *ambroſial flowers,*] Dr. Bentley would read,
"Ambroſial odours *from* ambroſial flowers;"
And he aſks, how an altar can *breathe* flowers, eſpecially when *flowers* are, as here, diſtinguiſhed from *odours*? But, when the altar is ſaid to *breathe*, the meaning is, that it *ſmells of*, it *throws out the ſmell of*, or, as Milton expreſſes it, B. iv. 265, it *breathes out the ſmell of*. In this ſenſe of the word *breathe*, an altar may be ſaid to *breathe flowers*, and *odours* too as a diſtinct thing; for, by *odours* here, Milton means the ſmells of gums and ſweet ſpicy ſhrubs: See B. viii. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, c. xviii. ſt. 20.
"Flowers *and* odours ſweetly ſmilde and ſmeld."
PEARCE.

Ambroſial odours and ambroſial flowers,
Our ſervile offerings? This muſt be our taſk
In Heaven, this our delight; how wearifome
Eternity ſo ſpent, in worſhip paid
To whom we hate! Let us not then purſue
By force impoſſible, by leave obtain'd
Unacceptable, though in Heaven, our ſtate
Of ſplendid vaſſalage; but rather ſeek
Our own good from ourſelves, and from our own
Live to ourſelves, though in this vaſt receſs,
Free, and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the eaſy yoke
Of ſervile pomp. Our greatneſs will appear
Then moſt conſpicuous, when great things of ſmall,
Uſeful of hurtful, proſperous of advérſe
We can create; and in what place ſo e'er
Thrive under evil, and work eaſe out of pain,

Milton illuſtrates himſelf in *Samſon Agon.* v. 986.

——————— "my tomb
"With *odours* viſited *and* annual *flowers.*"

Ver. 254. *Live to ourſelves,*] Horace, *Epiſt.* I. xviii. 107.

——————— "ut *mihi vivam*
"Quod ſupereſt ævi." NEWTON.

Ver. 255. ——————— *preferring*
Hard liberty before the eaſy yoke
Of ſervile pomp.] Such is the diſdainful obſervation of Prometheus to Mercury, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 974. edit. Schültz.

Τῆς σῆς λατρείας τὴν ἐμὴν δυσπραξίαν,
Σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιμι· ἴσθι.

Through labour and endurance. This deep world
Of darkneſs do we dread? How oft amidſt
Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling Sire
Chooſe to reſide, his glory unobſcur'd,
And with the majeſty of darkneſs round
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Muſtering their rage, and Heaven reſembles Hell?
As he our darkneſs, cannot we his light
Imitate when we pleaſe? This deſart ſoil
Wants not her hidden luſtre, gems and gold;
Nor want we ſkill or art, from whence to raiſe
Magnificence; and what can Heaven ſhow more?
Our torments alſo may in length of time
Become our elements; theſe piercing fires
As ſoft as now ſevere, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which muſt needs remove
The ſenſible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counſels, and the ſettled ſtate

Ver. 263. ——————— *How oft amidſt*
Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imitated from *Pſalm* xviii. 11, 13, and from *Pſalm* xcvii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 278. *The ſenſible of pain.*] The ſenſe of pain. *To ſenſible*, the adjective uſed for a ſubſtantive. HUME.

Ver. 279. *To peaceful counſels,*] There are ſome things wonderfully fine in theſe ſpeeches of the infernal Spirits, and in the different arguments ſo ſuited to their different characters: but they have wandered from the point in debate, as is too common in other aſſemblies. Satan had declared in B. i. 660.

——— "Peace is deſpair'd,
"For who can think ſubmiſſion? War then, War,
"Open or underſtood, muſt be reſolv'd."

Of order, how in ſafety beſt we may
Compoſe our preſent evils, with regard
Of what we are, and where; diſmiſſing quite
All thoughts of war: Ye have what I adviſe.
He ſcarce had finiſh'd, when ſuch murmur fill'd
The aſſembly, as when hollow rocks retain

Which was approved and confirmed by the whole hoſt of Angels. And accordingly, at the opening of the council, he propoſes for the ſubject of their conſideration, which way they would make choice of, B. ii. 41.

" Whether of open war, or covert guile,
" We now debate:"

Moloch ſpeaks to the purpoſe, and declares for open war, v. 51.

" My ſentence is for open war: Of wiles,
" More unexpert, I boaſt not, &c."

But Belial argues alike againſt war open or conceal'd, v. 187.

" War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
" My voice diſſuades; for what can force or guile, &c."

Mammon carries on the ſame arguments, and is for *diſmiſſing quite all thoughts of war.* So that the queſtion is changed in the courſe of the debate, whether through the inattention or intention of the author it is not eaſy to ſay. NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *Of what we are and* where,] So it is in the firſt edition; but in the ſecond, " Of what we are and *were.*" Tickell reſtored the reading of the firſt edition, which is the beſt; as it implies both " our *conditions,* and the *place* where we are;" while the other merely means " our condition *paſt* and *preſent.*" For this reaſon Dr. Newton follows the firſt edition, which Dr. Bentley alſo has followed.

Ver. 285. ——— *as when hollow rocks retain,* &c.] Virgil compares the aſſent, given by the aſſembly of the Gods to Juno's ſpeech, *Æn.* x. 96. to the riſing wind, which our author aſſimilates to its decreaſing murmurs.

The ſound of bluſtering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the ſea, now with hoarſe cadence lull

——— " Cunctique fremebant
" Cælicolæ aſſenſu vario: ceu flamina prima,
" Cum deprenſa fremunt ſylvis, et cæca volutant
" Murmura, venturos nautis prudentia ventos."
HUME.

The conduct of both poets is equally juſt and proper. The intent of Juno's ſpeech was to rouſe and inflame the aſſembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *riſing* wind: but the deſign of Mammon's ſpeech is to quiet and compoſe the infernal aſſembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempeſt.* Claudian has a ſimile of the ſame kind in his deſcription of the infernal council, *In Rufinum*, i. 70.

——— " ceu murmurat alti
" Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
" Durat adhuc fævítque tumor, dubiúmque per æſtum
" Laſſa recedentes fluitant veſtigia venti."

And in other particulars our author ſeems to have drawn his *council of Devils* with an eye to Claudian's council of Furies; and the reader may compare Alecto's ſpeech with Moloch's, and Megæra's with Belial's or rather with Beëlzebub's. NEWTON.

Milton, in this ſimile, did not forget Homer, whom he has exceeded, however, in beauty of deſcription, *Iliad* ii. 144.

Κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ, ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης
Πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τά τ' εὖρός τε Νότος τε
Ὄρορ', ἐπαΐξας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφελάων.

And, with reſpect to his *council of Devils*, it ſhould be remembered, that he had before exhibited, at the age of ſeventeen, an infernal council and conſpiracy in that brilliant proof of his genius, *In Quintum Novembris*. Phineas Fletcher, in his *Locuſtæ vel Pietas Jeſuitica*, and his *Locuſts or Apollyoniſts*, publiſhed at Cambridge in 1627, diſplays ſimilar ſcenery. See note, B. I. 795. Of

Sea-faring men o'er-watch'd, whoſe bark by chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempeſt: Such applauſe was heard
As Mammon ended, and his ſentence pleas'd,
Adviſing peace: for ſuch another field
They dreaded worſe than Hell: So much the fear
Of thunder and the ſword of Michaël
Wrought ſtill within them; and no leſs deſire
To found this nether empire, which might riſe
By policy, and long procéſs of time,
In emulation oppoſite to Heaven.
Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom
Satan except, none higher ſat, with grave
Aſpéct he roſe, and in his riſing ſeem'd
A pillar of ſtate; deep on his front engraven

Fletcher's Latin poem I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak largely in the notes on *Paradiſe Regained*, B. i. 42, and on the beautiful poem *In Quintum Novembris*.

Ver. 301. *Aſpéct*] So Milton always accents this word, agreeably to the practice of our elder poets. It began to be accented, however, on the firſt ſyllable, in Milton's time. See Baron's *Cyprian Academy*, 1648. B. ii. p. 72.

" I' the comely *áſpect* of the Paphian Queene."

Ver. 302. *A pillar of ſtate*;] The ſame expreſſion is in Shakſpeare, *Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. i.

" Brave peers of England, *pillars of the ſtate!*"

NEWTON.

The ſame phraſe is in Gaſcoigne's *Poems*, bl. l. 1587. p. 116. And, in *Foxes and Firebrands*, 2d edit. 1682, Lord Strafford is called " *a pillar of ſtate.*" And Milton, in his *Tractate on Education*, recommends the ſtudy of Politicks to Youth, that they may become " ſtedfaſt *pillars of the ſtate.*"

Deliberation ſat, and publick care;
And princely counſel in his face yet ſhone,
Majeſtick, though in ruin: ſage he ſtood
With Atlantean ſhoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightieſt monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention ſtill as night
Or ſummer's noon-tide air, while thus he ſpake.
Thrones and Imperial Powers, Offspring of Heaven,
Ethereal Virtues; or theſe titles now
Muſt we renounce, and, changing ſtyle, be call'd
Princes of Hell? for ſo the popular vote
Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
A growing empire; doubtleſs; while we dream,
And know not that the King of Heaven hath doom'd
This place our dungeon; not our ſafe retreat
Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heaven's high juriſdiction, in new league

Ver. 305. *Majeſtick, though in ruin:*] Theſe words are to be joined in conſtruction with *his face*, and not with *princely counſel*, as Dr. Bentley imagined. NEWTON.

Ver. 306. *With Atlantean ſhoulders*] A metaphor to expreſs his vaſt capacity. Atlas was ſo great an aſtronomer, that he is ſaid to have borne Heaven on his ſhoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299, to the end of the paragraph, is admirable!

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 309. *Or ſummer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the ſame as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind ſtirring, and men and beaſts, by reaſon of the intenſe heat, retire to ſhade and reſt. This is the cuſtom of Italy particularly, where our author lived ſome time. NEWTON.

Banded againſt his throne, but to remain
In ſtricteſt bondage, though thus far remov'd
Under the inevitable curb, reſerv'd
His captive multitude: For he, be ſure,
In highth or depth, ſtill firſt and laſt will reign
Sole king, and of his kingdom loſe no part
By our revolt; but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron ſcepter rule
Us here, as with his golden thoſe in Heaven.
What ſit we then projecting peace and war?
War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loſs
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Vouchſaf'd or ſought; for what peace will be given
To us enſlav'd, but cuſtody ſevere,
And ſtripes, and arbitrary puniſhment

Ver. 327. ——— *and with* iron *ſcepter rule*
Us here, as with his golden *thoſe in Heaven.*] The *iron* ſcepter is an alluſion to *Pſalm* ii. 9, as the *golden* is to *Eſther* v. 2. HUME.

Ver. 332. ——— *for what peace will be given*
To us enſlav'd, but *cuſtody ſevere,*———
——— *and what peace can we return*
But *to our power hoſtility and hate?*] In both theſe paſſages there is an unuſual conſtruction of the particle *but*; it ſeems to put "cuſtody ſevere &c." in the one, and "hoſtility and hate &c." in the other, on the foot of peace. There are ſome very few inſtances where the Latins have uſed *niſi* (*except*, or *but*) in a like conſtruction. One is in Plautus's *Menæchmi*, Prol. v. 59. "Ei liberorum, *niſi* divitiæ, nihil erat." Lambinus ſays, this expreſſion ſeems too unuſual; for the particle *niſi* can except none but things like, or of a like kind.

RICHARDSON.

Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
But to our power hoſtility and hate,
Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though ſlow,
Yet ever plotting how the conquerour leaſt
May reap his conqueſt, and may leaſt rejoice
In doing what we moſt in ſuffering feel?
Nor will occaſion want, nor ſhall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heaven, whoſe high walls fear no aſſault or ſiege,
Or ambuſh from the deep. What if we find
Some eaſier enterpriſe? There is a place,
(If ancient and prophetick fame in Heaven
Err not,) another world, the happy ſeat
Of ſome new race call'd Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though leſs
In power and excellence, but favour'd more
Of Him who rules above; ſo was his will
Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
That ſhook Heaven's whole circumference, confirm'd.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,
Or ſubſtance, how endued, and what their power,

Ver. 352. ——— *and by an oath,*
That ſhook Heaven's whole circumference, confirm'd.]
"He *confirmed* it *by an oath*," are the very words of St. Paul, *Heb.* vi. 17. And this oath is ſaid to *ſhake Heaven's whole circumference*, in alluſion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 104 &c.; as Virgil had imitated Homer, *Iliad* i. 528—530.
NEWTON.

And where their weakneſs, how attempted beſt,
By force or ſubtlety. Though Heaven be ſhut,
And Heaven's high Arbitrator ſit ſecure
In his own ſtrength, this place may lie expos'd,
The utmoſt border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it: Here perhaps

Ver. 360. ——— *this place may lie expos'd,*
The utmoſt border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it:] It has been objected, that there is a contradiction between this part of Beëlzebub's ſpeech, and what he ſays afterwards, ſpeaking of the ſame thing and of a meſſenger proper to be ſent in ſearch of this new world, ver. 410.

—— "What ſtrength, what art can then
"Suffice, or what evaſion bear him ſafe
"Through the ſtrict ſenteries and ſtations thick
"Of Angels watching round?"

How can this earth be ſaid to lie expoſed &c. and yet to be ſtrictly guarded by ſtationed Angels? The objection is very ingenious: but it is not ſaid that the earth *doth* lie expoſed, but only that it *may lie* expoſed: and it may be conſidered, that the deſign of Beëlzebub is different in theſe different ſpeeches; in the former, where he is encouraging the aſſembly to undertake an expedition againſt this world, he ſays things to *leſſen* the difficulty and danger; but in the latter, when they have determined upon the expedition, and are conſulting of a proper perſon to employ in it, then he ſays things to *magnify* the difficulty and danger, to make them more cautious in their choice. NEWTON.

Ver. 362. ——— here *perhaps*] Dr. Bentley ſays that Milton muſt have given it "*there* perhaps:" but I think not: in ver. 360. it is *this place*, and therefore Milton gave it *here*, that is, in the place which I am ſpeaking of. Milton frequently uſes *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* preſent to him or his ſpeakers *when* they are ſpeaking; but that time and that place which he or they are ſpeaking of. PEARCE.

Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
By ſudden onſet; either with Hell fire
To waſte his whole creation, or poſſeſs
All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
The puny habitants, or, if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Aboliſh his own works. This would ſurpaſs
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
In our confuſion, and our joy upraiſe
In his diſturbance; when his darling ſons,
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, ſhall curſe
Their frail original, and faded bliſs,
Faded ſo ſoon. Adviſe, if this be worth
Attempting, or to ſit in darkneſs here
Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub
Pleaded his deviliſh counſel, firſt devis'd
By Satan, and in part propos'd: For whence,
But from the author of all ill, could ſpring

Ver. 367. *The* puny *habitants,*] It is poſſible that the author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uſes words in their proper and primary ſignification, it ſeems probable that he might include likewiſe the ſenſe of the French (from whence it is derived) *puis né*, born ſince, created long after us. NEWTON.

Ver. 369. ——— *and with* repenting *hand* &c.] *Gen.* vi. 7. "And it *repented* the Lord that he had made man on the earth." GILLIES.

Ver. 379. ——— *firſt devis'd*
By Satan, and in part propos'd:] See Satan's ſpeech, B. i. 650, and what follows. BOWLE.

So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to ſpite
The great Creator? But their ſpite ſtill ſerves
His glory to augment. The bold deſign
Pleas'd highly thoſe infernal States, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes; with full aſſent
They vote: whereat his ſpeech he thus renews.
Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
Synod of Gods, and, like to what ye are,
Great things reſolv'd, which, from the loweſt deep,
Will once more lift us up, in ſpite of fate,
Nearer our ancient ſeat; perhaps in view
Of thoſe bright confines, whence, with neighbouring arms
And opportune excurſion, we may chance
Re-enter Heaven; or elſe in ſome mild zone
Dwell, not unviſited of Heaven's fair light,
Secure; and at the brightening orient beam
Purge off this gloom: the ſoft delicious air,
To heal the ſcar of theſe corroſive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But firſt whom ſhall we ſend

Ver. 396. ——————— *we may chance*
Re-enter Heaven;] Milton has ſometimes left out the ſign of the infinitive mode, viz. the particle *to*, where he thought it would occaſion no ambiguity; as in this paſſage: unleſs we ſhould chuſe to underſtand *chance* as an adverb, of the ſame ſignification with *perhaps*. LORD MONBODDO.

In ſearch of this new world? whom ſhall we find
Sufficient? who ſhall tempt with wandering feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite abyſs,
And through the palpable obſcure find out
His uncouth way, or ſpread his aery flight
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vaſt abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy iſle? What ſtrength, what art can
then

Ver. 406. ——— *the palpable obſcure*] It is remarkable in our author's ſtyle, that he often uſes adjectives as ſubſtantives, and ſubſtantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is uſed for a ſubſtantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vaſt abrupt*. And ſometimes there are two ſubſtantives, the former of which is uſed for an adjective, as *the ocean ſtream*, B. i. 202. *the bullion droſs*, B. i. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner. NEWTON.

Ver. 408. *Upborne with* indefatigable *wings*] Taſſo calls Gabriel's wings, *Gier. Lib.* c. i. ſt. 14,

" *Infaticabilmente*, agili, e preſte." THYER.

Ver. 409. ——— *ere he* arrive
The happy iſle?] So he uſes the word *arrive* in the Preface to *the Judgement of Martin Bucer*, edit. 1738, p. 276. " If our things here below *arrive him* where he is." Again, in his *Treatiſe of civil power*, &c. p. 553. " Let him alſo forbear force—leſt a worſe woe *arrive him*." And thus Shakſpeare, *Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. v.

——— " thoſe powers, that the Queen
" Hath rais'd in Gallia, have *arriv'd our coaſt*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 410. *The happy* iſle?] The earth hanging in the ſea of air. So Cicero calls the earth, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 66, " quaſi magnam quandam *inſulam*, quam nos orbem terræ vocamus."

NEWTON.

Suffice, or what evaſion bear him ſafe
Through the ſtrict ſenteries and ſtations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumſpection, and we now no leſs
Choice in our ſuffrage; for, on whom we ſend,
The weight of all and our laſt hope relies.
This ſaid, he ſat; and expectation held
His look ſuſpenſe, awaiting who appear'd
To ſecond, or oppoſe, or undertake
The perilous attempt: but all ſat mute,
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other's countenance read his own diſmay,
Aſtoniſh'd: None among the choice and prime
Of thoſe Heaven-warring champions could be found
So hardy, as to proffer or accept,
Alone, the dreadful voyage; till at laſt
Satan, whom now tranſcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride,
Conſcious of higheſt worth, unmov'd thus ſpake.
O Progeny of Heaven, empyreal Thrones,

Ver. 420. ——— *but all ſat mute,*] Homer often uſes words to the ſame effect, when an affair of difficulty is propoſed. Thus, in *Iliad* vii. 92.

Ὣς ἐφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἰγίνοντο σιωπῇ,
Αἰδοῖοι μὲν ἀνήκεστοι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδύχεσθαι. NEWTON.

Ver. 429. ——— *unmov'd*] With any of thoſe dangers which deterred others. NEWTON.

Ver. 430. *O Progeny of Heaven,*] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 7.

"Jam nova *progenies cœlo* dimittitur alto." HUME.

With reaſon hath deep ſilence and demur
Seis'd us, though undiſmay'd: Long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our priſon ſtrong; this huge convex of fire,
Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold; and gates of burning adamant,
Barr'd over us, prohibit all egreſs.
Theſe paſs'd, if any paſs, the void profound
Of uneſſential Night receives him next
Wide gaping, and with utter loſs of being
Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.

Ver. 432. ——————— *long is the way*
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;] He had Virgil in mind, *Æn.* vi. 128.

" Sed revocare gradum, ſuperáſque evadere ad auras,
" Hoc opus, hic labor eſt." NEWTON.

Dante was here in Milton's mind; for the aſcent from hell is thus deſcribed, *Inferno*, c. xxxiv. 95.

" *La via è lunga*, e'l cammino è malvagio."

Ver. 435. ——————— *immures us round*
Ninefold;] As Styx flows nine times round the damned, in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 439.

—— " *novies* Styx interfuſa coercet." NEWTON.

Ver. 436. —— *and* gates *of burning* adamant,] Alluding to the gates of hell, in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 552.

" *Porta* adverſa ingens, ſolidóque *adamante* columnæ."
NEWTON.

Ver. 438. ——————— *the* void profound] *Inane profundum*, as Lucretius has it in ſeveral places. NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Of* uneſſential *Night*] *Uneſſential*, void of being; darkneſs approaching neareſt to, and being the beſt reſemblance of, non-entity. HUME.

If thence he 'ſcape into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him leſs
Than unknown dangers, and as hard eſcape?
But I ſhould ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this imperial ſovranty, adorn'd
With ſplendour, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
And judg'd of publick moment, in the ſhape
Of difficulty, or danger, could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I aſſume
Theſe royalties, and not refuſe to reign,
Refuſing to accept as great a ſhare
Of hazard as of honour, due alike
To him who reigns, and ſo much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the reſt
High honour'd ſits? Go therefore, mighty Powers,

Ver. 445. *But I ſhould ill become this throne, O Peers,* &c.] The whole ſpeech, from this line, is wonderfully beautiful in every reſpect. But the reaſon why I have quoted it, is, to ſhow how the poet ſupports Satan's

"Monarchal pride, conſcious of higheſt worth,"

as he expreſſes it. In the line,

But I ſhould ill become this throne, O Peers,

I have no doubt but he had in view the ſpeech of Sarpedon in Homer; in which indeed the thought is Homer's, *That a king, being moſt honoured, ſhould likewiſe expoſe himſelf moſt to danger.* But Milton has given it ſo much of the rhetorical caſt, and dreſſed it ſo up with ſentences and enthymemas, after the manner of Demoſthenes, who, as I have ſaid elſewhere, was his model for ſpeeches, that Homer is hardly to be found in it.

LORD MONBODDO.

Terrour of Heaven, though fall'n; intend at
home,
While here ſhall be our home, what beſt may eaſe
The preſent miſery, and render Hell
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm
To reſpite, or deceive, or ſlack the pain
Of this ill manſion: intermit no watch
Againſt a wakeful foe, while I abroad
Through all the coaſts of dark deſtruction ſeek
Deliverance for us all: This enterpriſe
None ſhall partake with me. Thus ſaying roſe
The Monarch, and prevented all reply;
Prudent, leſt, from his reſolution rais'd,
Others among the chief might offer now
(Certain to be refus'd) what erſt they fear'd;
And, ſo refus'd, might in opinion ſtand
His rivals; winning cheap the high repute,
Which he through hazard huge muſt earn. But
they

Ver. 457. ——————— intend *at home,*] Lord Monboddo is of opinion, that the word *intend* is here uſed in it's proper ſignification of *bent*, or *application, to any thing*; in which ſenſe the Latins ſay, *intendere animum.*

And Mr. Steevens, in a note on *Timon of Athens*, A. ii. S. ii. proves, that to *intend* and to *attend* had anciently the ſame meaning;

" And ſo *intending* other ſerious matters,"

that is, *regarding, turning their notice to*, other things.

Ver. 465. ——————— *this enterpriſe*
None ſhall partake with me.] The abruptneſs of Satan's concluſion is very well expreſſed by the ſpeech breaking off in the middle of the verſe. NEWTON.

Dreaded not more the adventure, than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they roſe:
Their riſing all at once, was as the ſound
Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone; and as a God
Extol him equal to the Higheſt in Heaven:
Nor fail'd they to expreſs how much they prais'd,
That for the general ſafety he deſpis'd
His own: For neither do the Spirits damn'd
Loſe all their virtue; leſt bad men ſhould boaſt
Their ſpecious deeds on earth, which glory excites,

Ver. 476. *Their riſing all at once was as the ſound*
Of thunder heard remote.] A leſs correct and judicious author would have compared their riſing to *loud* thunder; but Milton compares it to thunder *heard at a diſtance*, which is a ſound not loud or ſtrong, but awful, and very like that produced by the movement of a great multitude. LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 482. ——— *For neither do the Spirits damn'd*
Loſe all their virtue;] Dr. Newton here obſerves, that as Milton has drawn Satan with ſome remains of the beauty, ſo he repreſents him likewiſe with ſome of the other perfections, of an Archangel; following the rule of Ariſtotle in his *Poeticks*, ch. xv. *That the manners ſhould be as good as the nature of the ſubject would poſſibly admit.* For the ſame reaſon he deſcribes the fallen Angels as not deſtitute of every virtue; but diſplaying firm concord, and publick ſpirit. Dr. Pearce ſuppoſes the poet to have introduced this remark of the Devils *not loſing all their virtue*, as a check to the *boaſting* of bad men; and to have had in view *Epheſ.* ii. 8, 9. "By grace ye are ſaved through faith; Not of works, *leſt any man ſhould boaſt:*" Not, that they were *ſaved not of works*, on purpoſe *leſt any man ſhould boaſt*; but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and made that remark to prevent their *boaſting*.

Or cloſe ambition, varniſh'd o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful conſultations dark
Ended, rejoicing in their matchleſs Chief:
As when from mountain-tops the duſky clouds
Aſcending, while the north-wind ſleeps, o'er-
ſpread
Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landſkip ſnow, or ſhower;
If chance the radiant ſun with farewell ſweet
Extend his evening-beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds

Ver. 489. ——— *while the north-wind* ſleeps,] So Homer expreſſes it, *Iliad* v. 524, ὔφρ' ΕΥΔΗΣΙ μένος Βορέαο, that wind generally clearing the ſky, and diſperſing the clouds. Every body muſt be wonderfully delighted with this ſimilitude. The images are not more pleaſing in nature, than they are refreſhing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate.

There is a ſimile of the ſame kind in Homer, but applied upon a very different occaſion, *Iliad* xvi. 297. There are alſo ſimilies of the ſame nature in the fortieth Sonnet of Spenſer, as Mr. Thyer has obſerved; in Boethius De Conſol. L. i.; and in Dante's Inferno, c. xxiv. NEWTON.

Ver. 490. *Heaven's cheerful face,*] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* ii. xii. 34.

"And *heaven's cheerful face* enveloped." THYER.

Ver. 492. *If chance the radiant ſun* with farewell ſweet
Extend his evening-beam,] Perhaps this delightful paſſage is one of the fineſt inſtances of picturesque poetry, which can be produced. There is a pretty thought in Shakſpeare's *Venus and Adonis*, where the riſing ſun "*takes his laſt leave* of the weeping morn;" but how much more natural is the farewell of the ſun going down, accompanied alſo with the variegated ſcenery of Milton.

Atteſt their joy, that hill and valley rings.
O ſhame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only diſagree
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace: and, God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and ſtrife,
Among themſelves, and levy cruel wars,
Waſting the earth, each other to deſtroy:
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not helliſh foes enow beſides,
That, day and night, for his deſtruction wait.
The Stygian council thus diſſolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midſt came their mighty paramount, and ſeem'd
Alone the antagoniſt of Heaven, nor leſs
Than Hell's dread emperour, with pomp ſupreme,
And God-like imitated ſtate: him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim enclos'd
With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.

Ver. 496. *O ſhame to men!* &c.] This reflection will appear the more pertinent and natural, when one conſiders the contentious age, in which Milton lived and wrote. THYER.

Ver. 512. *A* globe *of fiery Seraphim*] A *globe* ſignifies here a battalion in circle ſurrounding him, as Virgil ſays, *Æn.* x. 373.

——— "quà *globus* ille virûm denſiſſimus urget."
NEWTON.

So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 581, "a fiery *globe* of angels."

Ver. 513. ——— *horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of *terrible* and *prickly*; *ſet up*, like the briſtles of a wild boar. Virgil, *Æn.* i. "*Horrentia* Martis *arma*." And *Æn.* x. 178. "*Horrentibus* haſtis." NEWTON.

Then of their ſeſſion ended they bid cry
With trumpets regal ſound the great reſult:
Towards the four winds four ſpeedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the ſounding alchemy,
By herald's voice explain'd; the hollow abyſs
Heard far and wide, and all the hoſt of Hell
With deafening ſhout return'd them loud acclaim.
Thence more at eaſe their minds, and ſomewhat raiſ'd
By falſe preſumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
Diſband, and, wandering, each his ſeveral way
Purſues, as inclination or ſad choice
Leads him perplex'd, where he may likelieſt find
Truce to his reſtleſs thoughts, and entertain
The irkſome hours, till his great Chief return.
Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime,
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend,
As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery ſteeds, or ſhun the goal

Ver. 517. ——— *the ſounding* alchemy] *Alchemy* here means any *mixed metal*, as in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, c. vii. ſt. 39.

"Such were his arms, falſe gold, true *alchymie*."

Ver. 527. ——— *till* his *great chief return.*] So it is in the firſt edition: In the ſecond, and ſome others, it is "till *this* great chief return;" which is manifeſtly an errour of the preſs. NEWTON.

Ver. 531. *Part curb their fiery ſteeds*, &c.] Theſe *warlike* diverſions of the fallen Angels, during the abſence of Satan, ſeem to be copied from the *military exerciſes* of the Myrmidons, during the abſence of their chief from the war, Homer, *Il.* ii.

With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.
As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of Heaven the welkin burns.
Others, with vast Typhœan rage more fell,

774; only the images are raised in proportion to the nature of the Beings who are here described. We may suppose too, that Milton had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elysium, *Æn.* vi. 642, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 531. ——— *or shun the goal*
With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken from Horace, *Od.* I. i. 4.

" Metáque fervidis evitata rotis."

But with good judgement he says *rapid*, not *fervid*: because in these Hell-games both the wheels, and the burning marle they drove on, were *fervid* even before the race. BENTLEY.

Ver. 534. *Wag'd in the* troubled *sky,*] So Shakspeare in 1 *Hen.* IV. A. i. calls these appearances

——— " the meteors of a *troubled* Heaven." NEWTON.

Ver. 536. Prick forth *the aery knights,*] *Prick forward,* on the spur, in full career; as in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. ix. st. 22.

" Before the rest *forth prickt* the Soldan fast."

Ibid. ——— *and* couch *their spears*] Fix them in their rests. *Couch* from *coucher* (French) to place. A rest was made in the breast of the armour, and was called a *rest* from *arrester* (French) to stay. RICHARDSON.

Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; Hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar,
As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd
With conqueſt, felt the envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into the Euboick ſea. Others more mild,
Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing
With notes angelical to many a harp
Their own heroick deeds and hapleſs fall
By doom of battle; and complain that fate

Ver. 540. ——————— *and* ride *the* air
In whirlwind;] Shakſpeare, *Macbeth*, A. iv. S. i.
" Infected be the *air* whereon they *ride*."

Ver. 542. *As when Alcides*, &c.] This madneſs of *Hercules* was a ſubject for tragedy among the ancients; but Milton has compriſed the principal circumſtances in this ſimilitude, and ſeems to have copied Ovid, *Met.* ix. 136, &c. But, as Mr. Thyer rightly obſerves, Milton in this ſimile falls vaſtly ſhort of his uſual ſublimity and propriety. How much does the image of *Alcides tearing up Theſſalian pines* ſink below that of *the Angels rending up both rocks and winds, and riding the air in whirlwind!* And how faintly and inſignificantly does the alluſion end with the low circumſtance of Lichas being thrown into the Euboick ſea! NEWTON.

Ver. 550. ——————— *and complain that fate*
Free virtue ſhould enthrall to force or chance.] This is taken from the famous diſtich of Euripides, which Brutus uſed, when he ſlew himſelf:

Ὦ τλῆμον Ἀρετή, λόγος ἆρ ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δὲ σε
Ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἆρ ἐδούλευσας βίᾳ.

In ſome places, for βίᾳ *force*, it is quoted τύχῃ *fortune*. Milton has well comprehended both, " enthrall to *force* or *chance*."
BENTLEY.

Free virtue ſhould enthrall to force or chance.
Their ſong was partial; but the harmony
(What could it leſs when Spirits immortal ſing?)
Suſpended Hell, and took with raviſhment 554
The thronging audience. In diſcourſe more ſweet,
(For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe,)
Others apart ſat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reaſon'd high

Ver. 554. *Suſpended Hell,*] The effect of their ſinging is ſomewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 481. "The harmony ſuſpended Hell;" but is it not much better with the parentheſis coming between? which ſuſpends, as it were, the event; raiſes the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the ſentence.

——————— "But the harmony
"(What could it leſs when Spirits immortal ſing?)
"Suſpended Hell." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *and took with raviſhment*
The thronging audience.] He remembered that charming paſſage in *Comus*, of the Lady's ſinging:

"Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
"Breathe ſuch divine *enchanting raviſhment?*"

Again, of the Sirens, in the ſame poem:

"Who, *as they ſung*, would *take* the priſon'd *ſoul*,
"And *lap it in Elyſium.*"

And in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, of the muſick of the angels,

"As all their *ſouls* in *bliſsful rapture took.*"

Thomſon has copied the phraſe, *Spring*, v. 499.

"Breathes through the ſenſe, and *takes the raviſh'd ſoul.*"

Ver. 556. *For* eloquence *the* ſoul, *ſong* charms *the ſenſe,*)] So, in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 263.

"The *ſoule-charm* image of ſweet *eloquence.*"

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge abſolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes loſt.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happineſs and final miſery,
Paſſion and apathy, and glory and ſhame,
Vain wiſdom all, and falſe philoſophy:
Yet, with a pleaſing ſorcery, could charm
Pain for a while or anguiſh, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breaſt
With ſtubborn patience, as with triple ſteel.
Another part, in ſquadrons and groſs bands,
On bold adventure to diſcover wide
That diſmal world, if any clime perhaps

Ver. 559. ——— *foreknowledge, will, and fate,*
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge abſolute,] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expreſſes the wanderings and mazes of their diſcourſe. And the turn of the words is greatly improved, and rendered ſtill more beautiful, by the addition of an epithet to each of them. NEWTON.

The ſtudies of the ſchoolmen and metaphyſicians are here intended, and, in v. 564, the ſubjects of diſputation among the heathen philoſophers. GILLIES.

Ver. 568. ——— *the* obdured *breaſt*] So it is in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as in Bentley's, Fenton's, and others. The ſame word is uſed again, B. vi. 785.

" This ſaw his hapleſs foes, but ſtood *obdur'd*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 569. ——— *with triple ſteel.*] An imitation of Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 9.

" Illi robur, et *æs triplex*
" *Circa pectus* erat." HUME.

Might yield them eaſier habitation, bend
Four ways their flying march, along the banks
Of four infernal rivers, that diſgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful ſtreams;
Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron, of ſorrow black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful ſtream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whoſe waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from theſe, a ſlow and ſilent ſtream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former ſtate and being forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleaſure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen continent
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual ſtorms

Ver. 575. *Of four infernal rivers,*] Milton imitates the Greek writers, who enumerate the following rivers in hell; Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, Phlegethon, and Lethe. But the four firſt here join their ſtreams in one vaſt lake, or *the lake of fire* as it is called in Scripture; (whence alſo the poet's "*fiery waves,*" B. i. 184;) while the laſt rolls far off from the reſt, as in Dante, *Inferno* c. xiv. 136, where the rivers of hell are deſcribed, with Lethe rolling at a diſtance.

Ver. 577. *Abhorred Styx,*] Milton has added, to his claſſical explanations of the names and properties of the infernal rivers, new circumſtances of horrour. Beſides their junction in one flaming flood, he deſcribes a *frozen continent* diſtinct from the region of fire; and with great propriety: Becauſe hither the damned are brought, at certain revolutions, "from beds of raging fire *to ſtarve in ice,*" v. 600.—Dante has called Phlegethon, from its fiery waves, "la riviera *del ſangue*;" and Acheron, as Milton calls it, "la *triſta* riviera."

Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin ſeems
Of ancient pile; or elſe deep ſnow and ice,
A gulf profound, as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and mount Caſius old,
Where armies whole have ſunk: The parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire,
Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
At certain revolutions, all the damn'd
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire, to ſtarve in ice
Their ſoft ethereal warmth, and there to pine

Ver. 589. ——— *dire hail,*] Horace, *Od.* I. ii. 1.

" Jam fatìs terris nivis atque *diræ*
" *Grandinis* &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 592. ——— *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake of 200 furlongs in length, and 1000 in compaſs, between the ancient mountain Caſius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eaſtern mouths of the Nile. It was ſurrounded on all ſides by hills of looſe ſand, which, carried into the water by high winds, ſo thickened the lake, as not to be diſtinguiſhed from part of the continent; where whole armies have been ſwallowed up. Read Herodotus, lib. iii, and Lucan, *Pharſal.* viii. 539, &c.

HUME.

Ver. 595. *Burns* frore,] *Frore* an old word for *froſty*. The parching air *burns* with froſt. So, in Virgil *Georg.* i. 93.

——— " Boreæ penetrabile *frigus adurat*:"

and in *Eccluſ* xlii. 20, 21. " When the *cold north-wind* bloweth, it devoureth the mountains, and *burneth* the wilderneſs, and conſumeth the graſs *as fire*." NEWTON.

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Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.

Ver. 603. ——— *thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumſtance of the damned's ſuffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns, ſeems to be founded upon *Job* xxiv. 19, not as it is in the Engliſh tranſlation, but in the vulgar Latin verſion, which Milton often uſed: "Ad *nimium calorem* tranſeat ab *aquis nivium*; Let him paſs to *exceſſive heat* from *waters of ſnow*." And ſo Jerome and other commentators underſtand it. The ſame puniſhments after death, are mentioned by Shakſpeare, *Meaſ. for Meaſ.* A. iii. S. i.

——— "and the delighted ſpirit
"To bathe in *fiery floods*, or to reſide
"In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed *ice*." NEWTON.

This circumſtance of the damned's feeling the fierce extremes, is alſo in Dante, *Inf.* c. iii. v. 86.

"I' vegno, per menarvi all' altra riva
"Nelle'tenebre eterne, in *caldo* e 'n *gielo*."

So, in *Songes and Sonnets*, by Lord Surrey, and others, 1587, fol. 83.

"The ſoules, that lacked grace,
"Which lie in bitter paine,
"Are not in ſuch a place
"As fooliſh folke do fayne:
"*Tormented all with fire*,
"And boyle in lead again ——
"Then caſt *in froſen pits*
"*To freſe* there certain hours."

And, in Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, 1635, p. 345.

"And ſuffer, as they ſinn'd, in wrath, *in paines*
"*Of froſts*, *of fires*, of furies, whips, and chains."

In the preceding quotation from "Songs and Sonnets," there is evidently a ſneer at the monks; from whoſe legendary hell, according to Mr. Warton, the puniſhment by cold derives its origin.

They ferry over this Lethean ſound
Both to and fro, their ſorrow to augment,
And wiſh and ſtruggle, as they paſs, to reach
The tempting ſtream, with one ſmall drop to loſe
In ſweet forgetfulneſs all pain and woe,
All in one moment, and ſo near the brink;
But Fate withſtands, and to oppoſe the attempt
Meduſa with Gorgonian terrour guards
The ford, and of itſelf the water flies
All taſte of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In confus'd march forlorn, the adventurous bands
With ſhuddering horrour pale, and eyes aghaſt,
View'd firſt their lamentable lot, and found
No reſt: Through many a dark and dreary vale
They paſs'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and ſhades
of death,

Ver. 615. *In* confus'd *march forlorn,*] Perhaps with the accent on the firſt ſyllable of *cónfus'd*; as in Waller, *At Penſhurſt*:

"Into fair figures, from a *cónfus'd* heap."

So, in Marvell's *Poems*, Britan. and Raleigh:

"When ſhe had ſpoke, a *cónfus'd* murmur roſe."

Ver. 621. *Rocks, caves,* &c.] How exactly is the tediouſneſs and difficulty of their journey painted in this paſſage; and particularly in this rough verſe, which neceſſarily takes up ſo much time and labour in pronouncing! GREENWOOD.

There is a ſimilar line in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 527.

"*Rocks, woods, hills, caves, dales, meads, brooks,* anſwer me;
"Infected minds infect each thing they ſee." ——

A univerſe of death; which God by curſe
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverſe, all monſtrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worſe
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.

Mean while, the Adverſary of God and Man,

But Milton's, as a great critick obſerves, are the

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and *ſhades*—of DEATH:

"And the idea, cauſed by a word, which nothing but a word could annex to the others, raiſes a very great degree of the ſublime; which is raiſed yet higher by what follows, A UNIVERSE OF DEATH." Burke, *On the Sublime and Beautiful.*

Ver. 625. ——— *all* prodigious *things,*] In the true ſenſe of *prodigious,* as in Heywood's *Thyeſtes,* 1560, in a paſſage on the ſame ſubject:

"Where *Gorgons* gremme, where *Harpies* are, and lothſome limbo lakes,
"Where moſt *prodigious* vgly things the hollow hell doth hyde, &c." WARTON.

Ver. 628. *Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.*] Milton fixes all theſe monſters in hell, in imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 287, &c. And Taſſo copies Virgil's deſcription, *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. ſt. 5.

"Quì mille immonde *Arpie* vedreſti, e mille
"*Centauri,* e *Sfingi,* e pallide *Gorgoni,* &c."

But how much better has Milton comprehended them in one line. NEWTON.

Milton had another paſſage of Taſſo in view, *ibid.* c. xiii. ſt. 18.

"Se non, che 'l *timor* forſe à i ſenſe *finge*
"*Maggior prodigi* di Chimera o Sfinge."

Satan, with thoughts inflam'd of higheſt deſign,
Puts on ſwift wings, and towards the gates of Hell
Explores his ſolitary flight: ſometimes
He ſcours the right hand coaſt, ſometimes the left;
Now ſhaves with level wing the deep, then ſoars
Up to the fiery concave towering high.
As when far off at ſea a fleet deſcried

Ver. 630. *Puts on ſwift wings,*] So Mercury puts on his wings in Homer, *Iliad* xxiv. 340.

Αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἰδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα.

Ver. 634. *Now ſhaves with level wing the deep,*] Virgil, *Æn.* v. 217.

"Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas."

Alluding (as Dr. Greenwood obſerves) to the ſwallow, who ſkims juſt over the ſurface of the water without ſeeming to move her wings. NEWTON.

Ver. 636. *As when far off at ſea* &c.] Satan, *towering high*, is here compared to a fleet of Indiamen diſcovered at a diſtance, as it were *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a diſtance ſeems to do. This is the whole of the compariſon; but (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) Milton in his ſimilitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has ſhowed the common reſemblance, often takes the liberty of wandering into ſome unreſembling circumſtances; which have no other relation to the compariſon, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were ſet fire to the train of his imagination. But Dr. Bentley aſks, why a *fleet* when a firſt rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce anſwers, Becauſe a fleet gives a nobler image than a ſingle ſhip. Beſides, Milton would have been inconſiſtent with himſelf (ſays Dr. Greenwood) and have ſunk greatly in his compariſon, if he had likened the appearance of Satan to a ſingle ſhip, though of the firſt rate; becauſe he had ſaid before, B. i. 195. that, *extended long and large*, he *lay floating many a rood*; and again ver. 292.

Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close ſailing from Bengala, or the iſles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their ſpicy drugs; they, on the trading flood,
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
Ply ſtemming nighly toward the pole: So ſeem'd
Far off the flying Fiend. At laſt appear
Hell bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice three-fold the gates; three folds were
braſs,

that the talleſt pine, for *the maſt of ſome great ammiral*, was no bigger than a wand in proportion to his ſpear. This fleet is a fleet of Indiamen, becauſe, coming from ſo long a voyage, it is the fitter to be compared to Satan in this expedition; and theſe exotick names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a leſs vulgar caſt to the ſimilitude than places in our own channel, and in our own ſeas, would have done. This fleet is deſcribed, *by equinoctial winds*, the trade winds blowing about the equinoctial, *cloſe ſailing*, and therefore more proper to be compared to a ſingle perſon, from *Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the Eaſt-Indies ſubject to the great Mogul, *or the iſles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca iſlands in the Eaſt Indian ſea *whence merchants bring their ſpicy drugs*, the moſt famous ſpices being brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*; as the winds are called *trade-winds*, ſo he calls the flood *trading*, *through the wide Ethiopian* ſea *to the Cape of* Good Hope, *ply ſtemming nightly toward the pole*, that is, by night they ſail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce ſays) by day their fleet may be *deſcried hanging in the clouds*. *So ſeem'd far off the flying Fiend*: Dr. Bentley aſks, whom Satan appeared to *far off*, in this his *ſolitary flight?* But what a cold phlegmatick piece of criticiſm is this? It may be anſwered, that he was ſeen by the Muſe, and would have ſeemed ſo to any one who had ſeen him. Poets often ſpeak in this manner, and make themſelves and their readers preſent to the moſt remote and retired ſcenes of action. NEWTON.

Three iron, three of adamantine rock
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconſum'd. Before the gates there ſat
On either ſide a formidable ſhape;

Ver. 646. ——————— *adamantine rock*] So, in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 83.

" In Deſtinie's hard *diamantine rock.*"

Ver. 647. ——————— *impal'd with circling fire,*] Perhaps Milton might take the hint of this circumſtance from his favourite romances, where we frequently meet with the gates of enchanted caſtles thus *impal'd with circling fire.* THYER.

Ver. 648. ——————— *Before the gates there ſat* &c.] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a ſort of paraphraſe on St. *James*, i. 15. " *Then, when Luſt hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin, when it is finiſhed, bringeth forth Death.*" The firſt part of the allegory ſays only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he reſolved however to venture. RICHARDSON.

Sir William Blackſtone was of opinion, that Milton might poſſibly have taken the hint of this allegory from a paſſage in Shakſpeare's *Richard the third:*

" *Sin, death,* and *hell,* have ſet their marks on him;
" And all their miniſters attend on him."

Mr. Holt White obſerves, that Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following paſſage in Latimer's *Sermons,* 1584, fol. 79. " Here came in *death* and hell, *ſinne was their mother.* Therefore they muſt have ſuch an image as their mother ſinne would geue them." Steevens's Shakſpeare, 1793, vol. x. p. 504.

It is probable that Milton commenced this famous allegory, with an alluſion to Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 574.

——————— " Cernis, cuſtodia qualia
" Veſtibulo ſedeat? facies quæ limina ſervet?
" Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
" Sævior intus habet ſedem."

The one ſeem'd woman to the waiſt, and fair;
But ended foul in many a ſcaly fold

Ver. 650. *The one ſeem'd woman to the waiſt*, &c.] Dr. Newton thinks that Milton might here have in mind Spenſer's deſcription of *Errour* in the mixed ſhape of a woman and a ſerpent, *Faery Queen*, i. i. 14; and alſo of *Echidna*, vi. vi. 10, who, like Heſiod's Echidna, is deſcribed half-woman and half-ſerpent.

And Mr. Warton ſuppoſes, that this *formidable ſhape of Sin* derived its conformation from Dante's deſcription of the monſter Geryon; a monſter, having the face of a man with a mild and benign aſpect, but his human form ending in a ſerpent with a voluminous tail of immenſe length, terminated by a ſting, which he brandiſhes like a ſcorpion, *Inferno* c. xvii. The ſubject of Dante is alſo a fabulous hell. See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 244.

But, perhaps, Milton rather had in view P. Fletcher's deſcription of *Hamartia*, or *Sin* perſonified, creeping from the Dragon's maw, *Purp. Iſland*, 1633, c. xii. ſt. 27.

" The firſt, that crept from his deteſted maw,
" Was *Hamartia*, *foul*, deformed wight;
" More *foul*, deform'd, the ſunne yet never ſaw;
" Therefore ſhe hates the all-betraying light:
" *A woman ſeem'd ſhe in her upper part;*
" To which ſhe could ſuch lying gloſſe impart,
" That thouſands ſhe had ſlaine with her deceiving art.

28.

" *The reſt*, though hid, *in ſerpent's form arayd*,
" With iron *ſcales*, *like to a plaited mail:*
" Over her back her knotty *tail* diſplaid,
" Along the empty aire did lofty ſaile:
" The *end* was *pointed with a* double *ſting*,
" Which with ſuch dreaded might ſhe wont to fling,
" That nought could help the wound, but bloud of heavenly King."

Milton, however, has here drawn, as uſual, his emphatical expreſſions from Scripture; for, *Sin's mortal ſting* is from 1 *Cor.* xv. 56, as, afterwards, *Death's kingly crown* is from *Rev.* vi. 2.

Voluminous and vaſt; a ſerpent arm'd
With mortal ſting: About her middle round
A cry of Hell-hounds never ceaſing bark'd
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they liſt, would creep,
If aught diſturb'd their noiſe, into her womb,
And kennel there; yet there ſtill bark'd and howl'd,
Within unſeen. Far leſs abhorr'd than theſe
Vex'd Scylla, bathing in the ſea that parts
Calabria from the hoarſe Trinacrian ſhore:
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, call'd
In ſecret, riding through the air ſhe comes,
Lur'd with the ſmell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon

Ver. 654. *A* cry *of Hell-hounds*] I may be ignorant of the hunter's language; but I ſhould believe he gave it, "A *crue* of Hell-hounds." BENTLEY.

A *cry* of hounds is certainly the language of Engliſh poetry. Thus, in the *Midſ. Night's Dream*, of the dogs of Theſeus,

——— "A *cry* more tuneable
"Was never hallo'd to, nor cheer'd with horn."

See alſo Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 461.

"*A cry of hounds* have here a deer in chace."

Ver. 660. *Vex'd Scylla*, &c.] This ſtory of Scylla is at the beginning of the fourteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis. The *Cerberean mouths* in Milton, is plainly after the *Cerbereos rictus* in Ovid. NEWTON.

Ver. 665. ——— *the labouring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipſes of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three

Eclipſes at their charms. The other ſhape,
If ſhape it might be call'd that ſhape had none
Diſtinguiſhable in member, joint, or limb;
Or ſubſtance might be call'd that ſhadow ſeem'd,
For each ſeem'd either; black it ſtood as Night,

foregoing lines, and the former part of this, contain a ſhort account of what was once believed, and in Milton's time not ſo ridiculous as now. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 666. *The other ſhape*, &c.] This poetical deſcription of Death Milton has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, vii. vii. 46.

" But after all came Life, and laſtly *Death*;
" *Death* with moſt grim and griſly viſage ſeen.
" Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
" Ne aught to ſee, but like a ſhade to ween,
" Unbodied, unſoul'd, unheard, unſeen." THYER.

In Milton's painting, however, the imitation is adorned with new graces; with thoſe maſterly touches of horrible magnificence, which perhaps only the hand of Milton could delineate.

Dr. J. Warton is of opinion, that the *perſon of Death* is clearly and obviouſly taken from the ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ of Euripides, in his tragedy of *Alceſtis*. But, perhaps, the circumſtance of *Death*'s being a *perſon* in the *Adamo* of Andreini, might now forcibly occur to Milton's memory. *Death* is alſo a *perſon* in the old Morality of *Every Man*, publiſhed early in the reign of Henry the eighth; and in the tragedy of *Soliman and Perſeda*, publiſhed in 1599. See alſo note, *Eleg.* i. 92.

Ver. 670. ——— *black it ſtood as Night*, &c.] Like the ghoſt deſcribed in Homer, *Odyſſ.* xi. 605.

——— Ὁ δ' ἰφθιμῇ νυκὶ ἐοικὼς
Γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῇφιν ὀιστὸν,
Δεινὸν σκαιρίαων, αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἐοικώς. NEWTON.

And, as Fairfax tranſlates Taſſo's deſcription of the infernal ſpirit, B. xvi. ſt. 68.

" A *ſhadow*, *blacker* than the mirkeſt *night*,
" Environ'd all the place, &c."

Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And ſhook a dreadful dart; what ſeem'd his head
The likeneſs of a kingly crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his ſeat
The monſter moving onward came as faſt
With horrid ſtrides; Hell trembled as he ſtrode.
The undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,

Ver. 675. *The monſter moving onward* &c.] Milton's deſcription of Death is much ſuperiour to Spenſer's Orgoglio, to which it bears ſome reſemblance, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 8.

——— " His *monſtrous enemy*
" *With ſturdy ſteps came ſtalking* in his ſight,
" An hideous Giant, horrible and hie,
" That with his talneſs ſeemd to threat the ſkie;
" *The ground eke groned under him for dreed.*"

BOWLE.

Ver. 676. ——— *Hell trembled as he ſtrode.*] So Pope, *Iliad* vii. 255.

" Thus march'd the chief, tremendous as a god;
" Grimly he ſmil'd; Earth *trembled at he ſtrode.*"

Ver. 678. ——— *God and his Son* except,
Created thing nought valued he, nor ſhunn'd;] This appears at firſt ſight to reckon God and his Son among created things; but *except* is here uſed with the ſame liberty as *but* v. 333, and v. 336: And Milton has a like paſſage in his *Proſe-Works*, 1698, vol. i. p. 277. " No place in Heaven or Earth, *except* Hell, where Charity may not enter." RICHARDSON.

Except is rather a verb of the imperative mode; as if the poet had ſaid, " *Include not* God and his Son among the objects whom he did *not* fear: *Them* he *did* fear; but *created* thing he valued not." So *except* is uſed in Shakſpeare, *Rich.* III. A. v. S. iii.

" Richard *except*, thoſe, whom we fight againſt,
" Had rather have us win, than him they follow."

Created thing nought valued he, nor ſhunn'd;
And with diſdainful look thus firſt began.
Whence and what art thou, execrable ſhape,
That dar'ſt, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miſcreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? through them I mean to paſs,
That be aſſur'd, without leave aſk'd of thee:
Retire, or taſte thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.
To whom the goblin full of wrath replied.
Art thou that traitor-Angel, art thou He,
Who firſt broke peace in Heaven, and faith, till then
Unbroken; and in proud rebellious arms
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's ſons
Conjúr'd againſt the Higheſt; for which both thou

Ver. 683. *Thy* miſcreated *front*] We have been told, that Milton firſt coined the word *miſcreated*; but Spenſer uſed it before him, *Faer. Qu.* i. ii. 3.

"Eftſoons he took that *miſcreated* fair."

Again, ii. vii. 42.

"Nor mortal ſteel empierce his *miſcreated* mould."

BENTLEY.

Ver. 684. ——— *through them I mean to paſs*, &c.] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 15.

——— "I mean not thee intreat
"To paſs, but, maugre thee, will paſs, or die."

JORTIN.

Ver. 693. Conjúr'd *againſt the Higheſt*;] *Banded*, and *leagued together*; of the Latin *conjurare*, to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a deſign undertaken: Virg. *Georg.* i. 280.

"Et *conjuratos* cœlum reſcindere fratres." HUME.

And they, outcaſt from God, are here condemn'd
To waſte eternal days in woe and pain?
And reckon'ſt thou thyſelf with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'ſt defiance here and ſcorn,
Where I reign king, and, to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy puniſhment,
Falſe fugitive, and to thy ſpeed add wings,
Leſt with a whip of ſcorpions I purſue
Thy lingering, or with one ſtroke of this dart
Strange horrour ſeiſe thee, and pangs unfelt before.

So ſpake the griſly Terrour, and in ſhape,
So ſpeaking and ſo threatening, grew ten-fold
More dreadful and deform. On the other ſide,
Incens'd with indignation, Satan ſtood
Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd,

Ver. 697. *Hell-doom'd,*] As Satan had called Death *hell-born*, v. 687, Death returns it by calling Satan *hell-doom'd*. NEWTON.

Ver. 700. Falſe *fugitive,*] He is here called *falſe*, becauſe he had called himſelf a *Spirit of Heaven*. Compare v. 687 with v. 696. PEARCE.

Ver. 708. ——— *and like a comet burn'd,* &c.] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his ſhining armour to a comet; as Virg. *Æn.* x. 272.

" Non ſecus ac liquidâ ſi quando nocte cometæ
" Sanguinei lugubre rubent"———

But this comet is ſo large as to *fire the length of* the conſtellation *Ophiuchus* or Anguitenens, or Serpentarius as it is commonly called, a length of about 40 degrees, *in the arctick ſky*, or the northern hemiſphere, *and from his horrid hair ſhakes peſtilence and war*. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and ſuch wonderful

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In the arctick ſky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes peſtilence and war. Each at the head
Levell'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No ſecond ſtroke intend; and ſuch a frown
Each caſt at the other, as when two black clouds,

events, as were ſuppoſed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipſes, and the like. We have another inſtance of this nature in B. i. 598; and Taſſo in the ſame manner compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, c. vii. ſt. 52.

" Qual con le chiome ſanguinoſe horrende
" Splender cometa ſuol per l'aria aduſta,
" Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce,
" A i purpurei tiranni infauſta luce." NEWTON.

Pope has tranſlated Homer's ſimile in Milton's language, *Iliad* xix. 412.

" Like the red ſtar, that from his flaming hair
" Shakes down diſeaſes, peſtilence, and war."

Ver. 714. ——— *as when two black clouds*, &c.] It is highly probable, that Milton took the hint of this noble ſimile from one of the ſame ſort in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, though it muſt be owned that he has excelled the Italian much, both in the variety of its circumſtances, and the propriety of its application. Boiardo is deſcribing an encounter betwixt Orlando his hero, and the Tartar king Agricane, and begins it thus, B. i. c. 16.

" Se vediſte inſieme mai *ſcontrar dua toni*
" *Da Levante a Ponente* al ciel diverſo,
" Coſi proprio s'urtar quei dua baroni." THYER.

There is another fine deſcription, in the ſame book, of two combatants, thus illuſtrated: c. ii. ſt. 4.

" Chi vide mai nel boſco due leoni
" Turbati inſieme, ed a battaglia preſi;
" O ver ſentir *nell' aria due gran tuoni*,

With Heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caſpian, then ſtand front to front,
Hovering a ſpace, till winds the ſignal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid air:
So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at their frown; ſo match'd they ſtood;
For never but once more was either like
To meet ſo great a foe: And now great deeds
Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the ſnaky ſorcereſs, that ſat
Faſt by Hell-gate, and kept the fatal key,
Ris'n, and with hideous outcry ruſh'd between.

" *Che vengan con tempeſte in foco acceſi;*
" Nulla ſarebbe al par di quei baroni,
" Tanto crudel ſi ſono quivi offeſi,
" E par che il ciel paventi, &c."

Ver. 715. — *Heaven's artillery*] Thunder. Juv. *Sat.* xiii. 9.
" Quicquid habent telorum *armamentaria cæli.*" HUME.

As in Shakſpeare, *Tam. of the Shrew*, A. i. S. ii.
" Have I not heard great ordnance in the field,
" And *heaven's artillery* thunder in the ſkies?"

So Craſhaw, *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 105. " *Heaven's* great *artillery.*" And Habington, *Caſtara*, 1635, p. 53. " The loude *artillery of heaven.*"

Ver. 716. *Over the Caſpian,*] With great judgement did the poet take this ſimile from the *Caſpian*; for that ſea is remarkably tempeſtuous. See " Purchas his Pilgrimes," Part iii. p. 241. And Horace, *Od.* II. ix. 2. BOWLE.

Ver. 722. ——— *ſo great a foe;*] Jeſus Chriſt, who, as it follows v. 734, will one day deſtroy both *Death*, and " *him* that has the power of death, that is, *the Devil,*" Heb. ii. 14. NEWTON.

O Father, what intends thy hand, ſhe cried,
Againſt thy only Son? What fury, O Son,
Poſſeſſes thee to bend that mortal dart
Againſt thy Father's head? and know'ſt for whom;
For him who ſits above and laughs the while
At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
Whate'er his wrath, which he calls juſtice, bids;
His wrath, which one day will deſtroy ye both.
She ſpake, and at her words the helliſh Peſt
Forbore; then theſe to her Satan return'd.
So ſtrange thy outcry, and thy words ſo ſtrange
Thou interpoſeſt, that my ſudden hand,
Prevented, ſpares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends; till firſt I know of thee,
What thing thou art, thus double-form'd; and why,
In this infernal vale firſt met, thou call'ſt
Me Father, and that phantaſm call'ſt my Son:
I know thee not, nor ever ſaw till now
Sight more deteſtable than him and thee.

Ver. 729. ——————— *to bend that mortal dart*
Againſt thy father's head?] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. i. 5.

"And *bent his dreadful ſpeare againſt* the other's *head.*"

Ver. 730. ——————— *and know'ſt for whom;*] Tickell reads theſe words with a note of interrogation; but Milton's own editions read them with a ſemi-colon; the paſſage being perhaps elliptical, and meaning, as Dr. Newton obſerves, "*at the ſame time that* thou knoweſt for whom."

To whom thus the Portreſs of Hell-gate replied.
Haſt thou forgot me then, and do I ſeem
Now in thine eye ſo foul? once deem'd ſo fair
In Heaven, when at the aſſembly, and in ſight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conſpiracy againſt Heaven's King,
All on a ſudden miſerable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy ſwum
In darkneſs, while thy head flames thick and faſt
Threw forth; till, on the left ſide opening wide,
Likeſt to thee in ſhape and countenance bright,
Then ſhining heavenly fair, a goddeſs arm'd,
Out of thy head I ſprung: Amazement ſeiz'd
All the hoſt of Heaven; back they recoil'd afraid
At firſt, and call'd me *Sin*, and for a ſign
Portentous held me; but, familiar grown,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won

Ver. 746. *To whom thus the* Portreſs *of Hell-gate*] So, in P. Fletcher's *Locuſts*, ed. 1627. p. 34.

" The *Porter* to th' infernall gate is *Sin*,
" A ſhapeleſſe ſhape, a foul deformed thing,
" Nor nothing, nor a ſubſtance, &c."

Ver. 758. *Out of thy head I ſprung:*] Sin is rightly made to ſpring out of the head of Satan, as Wiſdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: And Milton deſcribes the birth of the one very much in the ſame manner, as the ancient poets have deſcribed that of the other, particularly the author of the Hymn to Minerva vulgarly aſcribed to Homer. And what follows, ſeems to be an hint improved upon Minerva's being raviſhed ſoon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian, *Dial.* Vulcani et Jovis, & De Domo. NEWTON.

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The moſt averſe, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyſelf in me thy perfect image viewing
Becam'ſt enamour'd, and ſuch joy thou took'ſt
With me in ſecret, that my womb conceiv'd
A growing burden. Mean while war aroſe,
And fields were fought in Heaven; wherein remain'd
(For what could elſe?) to our Almighty Foe
Clear victory; to our part loſs and rout,
Through all the empyréan: down they fell
Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this deep; and in the general fall
I alſo; at which time, this powerful key
Into my hand was given, with charge to keep
Theſe gates for ever ſhut, which none can paſs
Without my opening. Penſive here I ſat
Alone; but long I ſat not, till my womb,
Pregnant by thee, and now exceſſive grown,
Prodigious motion felt, and rueful throes.
At laſt this odious offspring whom thou ſeeſt,
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
Tore through my entrails, that, with fear and pain
Diſtorted, all my nether ſhape thus grew
Transform'd: But he my inbred enemy

Ver. 771. *Through all the* empyréan:] So Milton pronounces the word, with the accent always on the third ſyllable; but *empyreal*, always with the accent on the ſecond. Dr. Heylin ſuppoſes, that the word *empyreal* is falſe ſpelt, and that it ought to be written *empyriăl*, ἔμπυριος in Greek, and *empyréan*, ἐμπυραῖος. NEWTON.

Forth iſſued, brandiſhing his fatal dart
Made to deſtroy! I fled, and cried out *Death!*
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and ſigh'd
From all her caves, and back reſounded *Death!*
I fled; but he purſued, (though more, it ſeems,
Inflam'd with luſt than rage,) and, ſwifter far,
Me overtook his mother all diſmay'd,
And in embraces forcible and foul
Ingendering with me, of that rape begot
Theſe yelling monſters, that with ceaſeleſs cry
Surround me, as thou ſaw'ſt, hourly conceiv'd
And hourly born, with ſorrow infinite
To me; for, when they liſt, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
My bowels, their repaſt; then burſting forth
Afreſh with conſcious terrours vex me round,
That reſt or intermiſſion none I find.
Before mine eyes in oppoſition ſits
Grim Death, my ſon and foe; who ſets them on,
And me his parent would full ſoon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows

Ver. 786. ——— *brandiſhing his fatal dart*] Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 919. "*Telum fatale coruſcat.*" HUME.

Ver. 789. *From all her caves, and back reſounded*] Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 53.

"Inſonuere cavæ, gemitúmque dedere cavernæ."
HUME.

Ibid. ——— *Death!*] The repetition of *Death* here, is a beauty of the ſame kind as that of the name of *Eurydice* in Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 525; and of *Hylas*, Ecl. vi. 43.
NEWTON.

His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morſel, and his bane,
Whenever that ſhall be; ſo Fate pronounc'd.
But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, ſhun
His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in thoſe bright arms,
Though temper'd heavenly; for, that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can reſiſt.
She finiſh'd; and the ſubtle Fiend his lore
Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus anſwer'd ſmooth.
Dear Daughter, ſince thou claim'ſt me for thy ſire,
And my fair ſon here ſhow'ſt me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys
Then ſweet, now ſad to mention, through dire change
Befall'n us, unforeſeen, unthought of; know,
I come no enemy, but to ſet free

Ver. 809. ——— *ſo Fate pronounc'd.*] The heathen poets make Jupiter ſuperiour to Fate: The will of Jupiter was performed, ſays Homer, *Iliad* i. 5. See alſo Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 375, and iv. 614. But Milton, with great propriety, makes the fallen Angels and Sin here attribute events to Fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being. NEWTON.

Ver. 813. ——— *that mortal* dint,] *Dint*, formerly ſpelt *dent*, a *ſtroke* or *blow*: "*Dent* of ſword," *Barret's Alvearie*, 1580: "*Dent* of dart," *Chaucer*.

Ver. 817. *Dear Daughter*,] Satan had now learned his *lore* or *leſſon*; and the reader will obſerve how artfully he changes his language: He had ſaid before v. 745, that he had never ſeen *ſight more deteſtable*; but now it is, *dear daughter*, and *fair ſon*. NEWTON.

From out this dark and diſmal houſe of pain
Both him and thee, and all the heavenly hoſt
Of Spirits, that, in our juſt pretences arm'd,
Fell with us from on high: From them I go
This uncouth errand ſole; and one for all
Myſelf expoſe, with lonely ſteps to tread
The unfounded deep, and through the void immenſe
To ſearch with wandering queſt a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring ſigns, ere now
Created vaſt and round, a place of bliſs
In the pourlieus of Heaven, and therein plac'd
A race of upſtart creatures, to ſupply
Perhaps our vacant room; though more remov'd,
Leſt Heaven, ſurcharg'd with potent multitude,
Might hap to move new broils. Be this or aught
Than this more ſecret now deſign'd, I haſte
To know; and, this once known, ſhall ſoon return,
And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
Shall dwell at eaſe, and up and down unſeen
Wing ſilently the buxom air, imbalm'd

Ver. 842. *Wing ſilently the* buxom air,] *Buxom* is vulgarly underſtood for *merry, wanton*; but it properly ſignifies *flexible, yielding*, from a Saxon word ſignifying to *bend*. Thus Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 37.

"And therewith ſcourge the *buxom air* ſo ſore."

NEWTON.

Milton repeats the phraſe, B. v. 270. It is alſo uſed by Browne, *Brit. Paſt.* B. i. S. v; and by Niccols, *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, 1610. p. 826.

With odours; there ye ſhall be fed and fill'd
Immeaſurably, all things ſhall be your prey.
He ceas'd, for both ſeem'd highly pleas'd, and
Death
Grinn'd horrible a ghaſtly ſmile, to hear

Ver. 843. ——— *there ye ſhall be* fed *and fill'd*] *Pſalm* xlix. 14. "Death ſhall *feed* on them." GILLIES.

Ver. 846. *Grinn'd horrible a ghaſtly ſmile,*] Several poets have endeavoured to expreſs much the ſame image. Thus Homer ſays of Ajax, *Il.* vii. 212.

Μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι.

And Statius, of Tydeus, *Theb.* viii. 582. "*formidabile rides.*" And Cowley of Goliath, *Davideis*, B. iii.

"The uncircumcis'd *ſmil'd grimly* with diſdain."

And, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, Ariotto and Taſſo expreſs it very prettily thus, *Aſpramente ſorriſe* and *Sorriſe amaramente*. But I believe it will be readily allowed, that Milton has greatly exceeded them all. NEWTON.

Spenſer mentions Grantorto's "*grinning grieſly*," F. Q. v. xii. 16, much inferiour to Milton's expreſſion. BOWLE.

If Milton had any preceding writer in view, I ſuſpect it might be Fletcher, who, in his *Wife for a Month*,* has theſe remarkable lines;

"The game of *Death* was never play'd more nobly;
"The meager thief grew *wanton* in his miſchiefs,
"And his *ſhrunk hollow eyes ſmil'd* on his ruin."

The word *ghaſtly*, I would obſerve, gives the preciſe idea of *ſhrunk hollow eyes*, and looks as if Milton, in admiration of his original, had only looked out for an *epithet* to *Death's* ſmile, as he found it pictured in Fletcher. HURD.

* The reader may alſo compare Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, ed. fol. 1621. p. 1015.

"One, *grinning gaſtly*, in his viſage grim,
"Showes, *dead*, the rage that living fweld in him;"

His famine ſhould be fill'd; and bleſt his maw
Deſtin'd to that good hour: No leſs rejoic'd
His mother bad, and thus beſpake her ſire.
The key of this infernal pit by due,
And by command of Heaven's all-powerful King
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
Theſe adamantine gates; againſt all force
Death ready ſtands to interpoſe his dart,
Fearleſs to be o'ermatch'd by living might.
But what owe I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath hither thruſt me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To ſit in hateful office here confin'd,
Inhabitant of Heaven, and heavenly-born,

Here is a ſmall reſemblance to Milton's phraſeology. And in G. Wither's *Emblems*, fol. 1635, there is a faint ſhadow of his picture: *Death*; the emblem, a *Skeleton*, B. i. Illuſtr. viii.

" Note thoſe leane craggs, and, with what *gaſtlineſſe*
" That *horrid countenance* doth ſeem to *grin*."

It may be added alſo of Cowley, that, in his *Davideis*, B. ii. the devils " *with a dreadful ſmile* deform'dly *grin*." But all theſe illuſtrations only ſerve to ſhow the inimitable ſtrength of Milton's fine expreſſion, *Death grinn'd horrible a ghaſtly ſmile!*

Ver. 855. *Fearleſs to be o'ermatch'd by living* might.] In ſome editions it is living *wight*, that is, *creature*; and we have *living wight* before, ver. 613: and this is likewiſe Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living might*, ſays he, would not except even God himſelf, the Ever-living and the Almighty. But God himſelf muſt neceſſarily be excepted here; for it was by his command that Sin and Death ſat to guard the gates, and therefore *living might* cannot poſſibly be underſtood of God, but of any one elſe who ſhould endeavour to force a paſſage. NEWTON.

Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrours and with clamours compaſs'd round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav'ſt me; whom ſhould I obey
But thee? whom follow? thou wilt bring me ſoon
To that new world of light and bliſs, among
The Gods who live at eaſe, where I ſhall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beſeems
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.
Thus ſaying, from her ſide the fatal key,
Sad inſtrument of all our woe, ſhe took;
And, towards the gate rolling her beſtial train,
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
Which but herſelf, not all the Stygian Powers

Ver. 868. *The Gods who live at eaſe,*] Word for word from Homer, Θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες. BENTLEY.

It is Sin who ſpeaks here, and ſhe ſpeaks as an Epicurean. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 871. *Thus ſaying, from her ſide* &c.] It is one great part of a poet's art to know when to deſcribe things in general, and when to be very circumſtantial and particular. Milton has in theſe lines ſhowed his judgement in this reſpect. The firſt opening of the gates of Hell by Sin, is an incident of that importance, that, if I can gueſs by my own, every reader's attention muſt be greatly excited, and conſequently as highly gratified by the minute detail of particulars our author has given us. It may with juſtice be farther obſerved, that, in no part of the poem, the verſification is better accommodated to the ſenſe. *The drawing up of the portcullis, the turning of the key, the ſudden ſhooting of the bolts, and the flying open of the doors,* are in ſome ſort deſcribed by the very break and ſound of the verſes.

THYER.

Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of maſſy iron or ſolid rock with eaſe
Unfaſtens: On a ſudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring ſound
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harſh thunder, that the loweſt bottom ſhook
Of Erebus. She open'd, but to ſhut
Excell'd her power; the gates wide open ſtood,
That with extended wings a banner'd hoſt,
Under ſpread enſigns marching, might paſs through
With horſe and chariots rank'd in looſe array;
So wide they ſtood, and like a furnace mouth
Caſt forth redounding ſmoke and ruddy flame.
Before their eyes in ſudden view appear
The ſecrets of the hoary deep; a dark

Ver. 881. ——— *on their hinges grate*
Harſh thunder,] Dr. Johnſon has obſerved, that this expreſſion is copied from the hiſtory of Don Bellianis. I have been informed by Mr. Walker, that the remark was made by Swift, in the margin of his copy of Paradiſe Loſt, and with the following *accuracy*: "Don Bell. Part ii. ch. 19. *Open flew* the brazen folding *doors, grateing harſh thunder* on their turning *hinges.*"

Ver. 882. ——— *the loweſt bottom ſhook*
Of Erebus.] The moſt profound depth of hell. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 471, "Erebi de ſedibus imis." HUME.

Ver. 891. *The ſecrets of the* hoary *deep*;] *Job*, xli. 32. * "One would think the *deep* to be *hoary.*" GILLIES.
So Catullus, *De Nupt. Pel. & Thet.* v. 13.

"Tortáque remigio ſpumis *incanuit* unda."

Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimenſion, where length, breadth, and highth,
And time, and place, are loſt; where eldeſt Night
And Chaos, anceſtors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidſt the noiſe
Of endleſs wars, and by confuſion ſtand.
For hot, cold, moiſt, and dry, four champions fierce,

Ver. 894. ——————— *where eldeſt Night*
And Chaos, &c.] All the ancient naturaliſts, philoſophers, and poets, hold that *Chaos* was the firſt principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddeſs, and repreſent *Night* or darkneſs, and *Chaos* or confuſion, as exerciſing uncontrouled dominion from the beginning. Thus Orpheus, in the beginning of his hymn to Night, addreſſes her as the mother of the Gods and Men, and origin of all things. See alſo Spenſer in imitation of the Ancients, *Faery Queen,* B. i. c. 5. ſt. 22. And Milton's ſyſtem of the univerſe is in ſhort, that the empyrean Heaven, and Chaos, and darkneſs, were before the creation, Heaven above and Chaos beneath; and then, upon the rebellion of the Angels, *firſt, Hell* was formed out of Chaos *ſtretching far and wide beneath*; and afterwards, *Heaven and Earth, another world, hanging o'er the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion.* See ver. 1002, &c. and 978.
NEWTON.

Ver. 898. *For hot, cold, moiſt, and dry,* &c.] Ovid. *Met.* i. 19.

" Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ſiccis,
" Mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus."

The reader may compare this whole deſcription of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will eaſily ſee how the Roman poet has leſſened the grandeur of his by puerile conceits, and quaint antitheſes: Every thing in Milton is great and maſterly. NEWTON.

Strive here for maſtery, and to battle bring
Their embryon atoms; they around the flag
Of each his faction, in their ſeveral clans,
Light-arm'd or heavy, ſharp, ſmooth, ſwift or ſlow,
Swarm populous, un-number'd as the ſands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid ſoil,
Levied to ſide with warring winds, and poiſe
Their lighter wings. To whom theſe moſt adhere,
He rules a moment: Chaos umpire ſits,

Ver. 900. *Their* embryon *atoms*;] Addiſon ſays, that *embryon* is a word of Milton's coinage. But it was very common both as a ſubſtantive and adjective in the poetry of Milton's time; as in Sylveſter, *Du Bart.* ed. ſupr. p. 7. "Or rather th' *embryon*." And in Donne's Poems, ed. 1633. p. 16.

"Into an *embrion* fiſh our ſoule is thrown."

So Maſſinger, *Baſhful Lover*, 1655. p. 59. "What I purpoſe is yet an *embryon*."

And Browne, *Brit. Paſt.* 1616, B. i. S. iv. "The *embrion* bloſſome of each ſpray."

Ver. 903. ——— *un-number'd as the ſands*
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid ſoil,] Heylin, in his *Microcoſmus*, 1627, deſcribing *Egypt*, thus ſpeaks of *Barca* and *Cyrene's* ſoil, p. 749. "This country is all ouer couered with a light ſand, which the winds remoue continually vp and downe, turning valleies into hills, and hills into valleies."

Ver. 906. ——— *To whom theſe moſt adhere,*
He rules a moment:] The reaſon why any one of theſe four champions *rules*, though but for a *moment*, is, becauſe the atoms of his faction *adhere moſt* to him. Firm dependance indeed, ſays Dr. Bentley, and worthy the ſuperlative *moſt*, that laſts but for a *moment!* But I ſhould think that the leſs firm the dependance is, the finer image we have of ſuch a ſtate as that of Chaos is. PEARCE.

And by deciſion more embroils the fray,
By which he reigns: Next him high arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wild abyſs
The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
Of neither ſea, nor ſhore, nor air, nor fire,
But all theſe in their pregnant cauſes mix'd
Confus'dly, and which thus muſt ever fight,
*Unleſs the Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds;
Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd a while,

Ver. 910. ——— *Into this wild abyſs* &c.] Compare Spenſer's deſcription of Chaos, *Faer. Qu.* iii. vi. 36:

—— " In the wide wombe of the world there lyes,
" In hatefull darkneſs, and in deep horróre,
" An huge eternall Chaos, which ſupplyes
" The ſubſtaunces of Nature's fruitfull progenyes."

Ver. 911. *The* womb *of nature, and perhaps her* grave,] Lucret. v. 260.

" *Omniparens*, eadem rerum commune *ſepulchrum*."

THYER.

Mr. Steevens adds, from *Romeo and Juliet*,

" The earth, that's nature's *mother*, is her *tomb*."

And Mr. Malone, from *Pericles*, of Time;

" For he's their *parent*, and he is their *grave*."

Ver. 917. *Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend*
Stood *on the brink of Hell, and* look'd *a while*,]
Here is a remarkable tranſpoſition of the words, the ſenſe however is very clear; The wary Fiend ſtood on the brink of Hell, and look'd a while into this wild abyſs, pondering his voyage. It is obſervable, that the poet himſelf ſeems to be doing what he deſcribes, for the period begins at v. 910, then he goes not on

Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to croſs. Nor was his ear leſs peal'd
With noiſes loud and ruinous, (to compare
Great things with ſmall) than when Bellona ſtorms,
With all her battering engines bent to raſe
Some capital city; or leſs than if this frame
Of Heaven were falling, and theſe elements
In mutiny had from her axle torn
The ſtedfaſt earth. At laſt his ſail-broad vans

directly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos before he enters into it. It is very artful! if his ſtyle is ſomewhat abrupt, after ſuch pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give.
RICHARDSON.

Stood and look'd is here uſed for *ſtanding look'd*. So, in B. v, 368, he ſays,

——— "what the garden choiceſt bears
"To ſit and taſte."——

where *ſit and taſte* is uſed for *ſitting taſte*. PEARCE.

Ver. 921. ——— *(to compare Great things with ſmall)*] An expreſſion in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 24. "Parvis componere magna." And what an idea does this give us of the noiſes of Chaos, that even thoſe of a city beſieged, and of Heaven and Earth running from each other, are but ſmall in compariſon? And though both the ſimilitudes are truly excellent and ſublime, yet how ſurpriſingly doth the latter riſe above the former! NEWTON.

Ver. 927. ——— *his ſail-broad vans*] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one are often applied to the other; and flying is compared to ſailing, and ſailing to flying. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 520.

"*Velorum* pandimus *alas*;"

He ſpreads for flight, and in the ſurging ſmoke
Uplifted ſpurns the ground; thence many a league,
As in a cloudy chair, aſcending rides
Audacious; but, that ſeat ſoon failing, meets
A vaſt vacuity: All unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops

And *En.* i. 300,

——— " volat ille per aëra magnum
" *Remigio* alarum."

The ſame manner of ſpeaking has prevailed among the modern poets. So Spenſer *F. Q.* i. xi. 10.

" His flaggy *wings* when forth he did diſplay
" Were *like two ſails.*" NEWTON.

Beaumont and Fletcher, in the *Propheteſs*, A. ii. S. iii, have " *ſail-ſtretch'd* wings;" yet Milton's preciſe expreſſion here, is Taſſo's, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. ſt. 60. of the archangel Michael;

" Indi ſpiega al gran volo i *vanni* aurati:"

But the deſcription is Marino's, who thus paints the devil, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, ed. 1633. L. i. ſt. 18.

——— " *per volar dibatte l' ali*,
" Che'n guiſa hà pur di *due gran vele aperte.*"

Ver. 932. *A vaſt vacuity: all unawares* &c.] Heſiod, *Theog.* 739.

Χάσμα μέγ'. Οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
Οὔδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο·
Ἀλλά κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα θύελλαν
Ἀργαλέη.

Ver. 933. ——— *pennons*] This word is vulgarly ſpelt *pinions*, and ſo Dr. Bentley has printed it: but the author ſpells it *pennons*, after the Latin *penna*. The reader will obſerve the beauty of the numbers here, without our pointing it out to him. NEWTON.

Ten thouſand fathom deep; and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
The ſtrong rebuff of ſome tumultuous cloud,
Inſtinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
As many miles aloft: That fury ſtaid,
Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither ſea,
Nor good dry land: Nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude conſiſtence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both oar and ſail.
As when a gryphon, through the wilderneſs

Ver. 938. ——————— *That fury ſtaid*, &c.] That fiery rebuff ceaſed, quenched and put out by a ſoft quickſand: *Syrtis* is explained by *neither ſea nor good dry land*, exactly agreeing with Lucan, *Phar.* ix. 304.

"Syrtes—in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit." HUME.

Ver. 941. ——————— *half on foot,*
Half flying;] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 8.

"*Half flying* and *half footing* in his haſte."

Milton ſeems to have borrowed ſeveral images of the old dragon deſcribed by Spenſer. NEWTON.

Ver. 942. ——— *behoves him now both oar and ſail.*] It behoveth him now to uſe both his oars and his ſails, as galleys do; according to the proverb, "*Remis velisque*, with might and main." HUME.

Ver. 943. *As when a gryphon*, &c.] *Gryphons* are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower reſembling a lion, and are ſaid to *guard* gold-mines. The *Arimaſpians* were a one-eyed people of Scythia, who adorned their hair with gold. See Lucan, *Pharſal.* iii. 280. Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the *gryphons* and the *Arimaſpians* about *gold*; the gryphons *guarding it*, and the Arimaſpians *taking it*, whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. vii. cap. ii. NEWTON.

With winged courſe, o'er hill or moory dale,
Purſues the Arimaſpian, who by ſtealth
Had from his wakeful cuſtody purloin'd
The guarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend
O'er bog, or ſteep, through ſtrait, rough, denſe, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, purſues his way,
And ſwims, or ſinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:
At length a univerſal hubbub wild
Of ſtunning ſounds, and voices all confus'd,
Borne through the hollow dark, aſſaults his ear
With loudeſt vehemence: Thither he plies,

Ver. 948. *O'er bog, or ſteep*, &c.] The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well expreſſed by ſo many monoſyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but ſlowly, and with frequent pauſes. There is a memorable inſtance of the roughneſs of a road admirably deſcribed by a ſingle verſe in Homer, *Iliad* xxiii. 116.

Πολλὰ δ' ἄναλα, κάταλα, σάραλά τι, δόχμιά τ', ἦλθεν.

which Pope has been obliged to tranſlate paraphraſtically, to give us ſome idea of the beauty of the numbers; and he has made uſe of ſeveral monoſyllables, as Milton has done:

"O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks, they go;
"Jumping, high o'er the ſhrubs of the rough ground,
"Rattle the clattering cars, and the ſhockt axles bound."

And, as Mr. Thyer adds, ſo Spenſer, in the ſame manner, repreſents the diſtreſs of the Red-croſs knight in his encounter with the old dragon, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 28.

"Faint, wearie, ſore, emboyled, grieved, brent,
"With heat, toyle, wounds, armes, ſmart, and inward fire."

NEWTON.

Undaunted to meet there whatever Power
Or Spirit of the nethermoſt abyſs
Might in that noiſe reſide, of whom to aſk
Which way the neareſt coaſt of darkneſs lies
Bordering on light; when ſtraight behold the throne
Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion ſpread
Wide on the waſteful deep; with him enthron'd
Sat ſable-veſted Night, eldeſt of things,
The conſort of his reign; and by them ſtood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name

Ver. 956. ——— *the* nethermoſt *abyſs*] Though the *throne of Chaos* was above Hell, and conſequently a part of the *abyſs* was ſo, yet a part of that *abyſs* was at the ſame time far below Hell; ſo far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that *abyſs* ten thouſand fathom deep, v. 934; and the poet there adds, that, if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour: nay, it was ſo deep as to be *illimitable*, and where *highth is loſt*. The *abyſs* then, conſidered all together, was *nethermoſt* in reſpect of Hell, below which it was ſo endleſsly extended. PEARCE.

Ver. 962. *Sat* ſable-veſted *Night*,] Clothed in her ſable furs: A *ſable* is a creature whoſe ſkin is of the greater price, the blacker it is. ΜΕΛΑΜΠΕΠΛΟΣ δὲ Νύξ. HUME.

Milton here, and in what follows, ſeems to have had in view Spenſer's fine deſcription of Night, which is very much in the taſte of this allegory of Milton. See *Faery Queen*, i. v. 20.

"Where grieſly Night, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 964. *Orcus and Ades*,] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* is for any dark place. Theſe terms are of a very vague ſignification, and are employed by the poets accordingly. Milton has perſonized them, and put them in the court of Chaos. RICHARDSON.

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Of Demogorgon; Rumour next and Chance, 965
And Tumult and Confuſion all embroil'd,
And Diſcord with a thouſand various mouths.
To whom Satan turning boldly, thus: Ye Powers

Ver. 964. ——————— *the dreaded* name
Of *Demogorgon;*] That is, Demogorgon *himſelf*, as in Virgil, *Æn.* 763, "Albanum *nomen*" is a *man* of Alba; and we have a memorable inſtance of this way of ſpeaking in *Rev.* xi. 13. "And in the earthquake were ſlain ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων *names of men* ſeven thouſand," that is, ſeven thouſand *men*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 965. *Demogorgon;*] A deity, whoſe very name the ancients ſuppoſed capable of producing the moſt terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. He is mentioned as of great power in incantations. See Lucan, *Pharſal.* vi. 744, &c. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 514, &c. And Taſſo, *Ger. Lib.* c. xiii. ſt. 10. Spenſer alſo mentions this infernal deity, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 22, and places him in the immenſe abyſs *with Chaos*, iv. ii. 47, and takes notice of the dreadful effects of his name, i. i. 37,

"*At which* Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight."

Well therefore might Milton diſtinguiſh him by the *dreaded name* of Demogorgon. And, beſides theſe authorities, the learned Dr. Jortin has ſuggeſted, that this name is to be found in Lactantius, and in the Scholiaſt of Statius. Mr. Thyer further juſtifies the uſe of the word by a paſſage in Milton's Latin works, p. 340. "Apud vetuſtiſſimos itaque mythologiæ ſcriptores memoriæ datum reperio *Demogorgonem* deorum omnium atavum (quem eundem et Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios liberos, quos ſuſtulerat plurimos, Terram genuiſſe."

NEWTON.

Demogorgon is alſo introduced in a very romantick paſſage, in Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* Lib. ii. c. xiii. ſt. 31. And, in Dryden and Lee's *Œdipus*, the ſhade of Laius is ſummoned to appear,

——————— "by *Demogorgon's name*,
"At which ghoſts quake."

And Spirits of this nethermoſt abyſs,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no ſpy,
With purpoſe to explore or to diſturb
The ſecrets of your realm; but, by conſtraint
Wandering this darkſome deſart, as my way
Lies through your ſpacious empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half loſt, I ſeek
What readieſt path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heaven; or if ſome other place,
From your dominion won, the ethereal King
Poſſeſſes lately, thither to arrive
I travel this profound; direct my courſe;
Directed, no mean recompence it brings
To your behoof, if I that region loſt,
All uſurpation thence expell'd, reduce
To her original darkneſs, and your ſway,

Ver. 972. *The* ſecrets *of your realm*;] This paſſage has been objected to without any reaſon. He means probably *ſecret places*, as in v. 891. *Secrets* is uſed here as *ſecreta* in Virg. *Georg.* iv. 403.

" In *ſecreta* ſenis ducam:"

and in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* vi. xii. 24.

" And ſearched all their cells and *ſecrets* near."

Or, if we underſtand, by *ſecrets*, ſecret counſels and tranſactions, the word *diſturb* will be proper enough, as in B. i. 167.

——————— " and *diſturb*
" His inmoſt *counſels* from their deſtin'd aim:"

and the word *explore* will be very proper, as in B. vii. 95.

" What we, not to *explore* the *ſecrets* aſk
" Of his eternal empire." NEWTON.

(Which is my preſent journey) and once more
Erect the ſtandard there of ancient Night:
Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge.
Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltering ſpeech and viſage incompos'd,
Anſwer'd. I know thee, ſtranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head againſt Heaven's King, though overthrown.
I ſaw and heard; for ſuch a numerous hoſt
Fled not in ſilence through the frighted deep,
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confuſion worſe confounded; and Heaven-gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Purſuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep reſidence; if all I can will ſerve
That little which is left ſo to defend,
Encroach'd on ſtill through your inteſtine broils

Ver. 994. ——————— *through the frighted deep,*] The poet perhaps borrowed this deſcription from *Ezekiel's* prefiguration of Aſſyria's fall, xxxi. 16. "I made the nations to ſhake at the ſound of his fall, when I caſt him down to hell with them that deſcend into the pit."

Ver. 1001. ——— *through* your *inteſtine broils*] All the editions read, "through *our* inteſtine broils." But it appears from the following verſes, that the encroachments, which Chaos means, were the creation of *Hell* firſt, and then of the *new world*; the creation of both which was the effect not of any broils in the realm of Chaos, but of the broils in Heaven between God and Satan, the good Angels and the bad, called *inteſtine war*, and *broils*, in B. vi. 259, 277. We muſt remember alſo that it is Satan to whom Chaos here ſpeaks; and therefore we may

Weakening the ſcepter of old Night: firſt Hell,
Your dungeon, ſtretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain
To that ſide Heaven from whence your legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not far;
So much the nearer danger; go, and ſpeed;
Havock, and ſpoil, and ruin, are my gain.
He ceas'd; and Satan ſtaid not to reply,

ſuppoſe, that Milton gave it, "through *your* inteſtine broils." In the firſt editions there is no comma after *broils*; and there ſhould be none, becauſe *broils* is the ſubſtantive with which the participle *weakening* agrees: It was *their broils* which *weakened* Night's ſcepter, becauſe the conſequences of them leſſened her kingdom. PEARCE.

This change of *our* into *your* is ſo juſt and neceſſary, that we thought it beſt to admit it into the text. NEWTON.

Ver. 1005. ——— *link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he can draw up the Gods, and the earth, and ſea, and the whole univerſe; but they cannot draw him down. See the paſſage at large in the beginning of the eighth book of the *Iliad*.

It is moſt probably and ingeniouſly conjectured, that by this golden chain may be underſtood the ſuperiour attractive force of the ſun, whereby he continues unmoved, and draws all the reſt of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of *hanging the world by a golden chain*. NEWTON.

Ver. 1009. *Havock, and ſpoil, and ruin, are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to the character of Chaos by Lucan, *Pharſal.* vi. 696.

"Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos."

NEWTON.

But, glad that now his ſea ſhould find a ſhore,
With freſh alacrity, and force renew'd,
Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,
Into the wild expanſe, and, through the ſhock
Of fighting elements, on all ſides round
Environ'd, wins his way; harder beſet
And more endanger'd, than when Argo paſs'd
Through Boſporus, betwixt the juſtling rocks:

Ver. 1013. *Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,*] To take in the full meaning of this magnificent ſimilitude, we muſt imagine ourſelves in Chaos, and a vaſt luminous body riſing upward, near the place where we are, ſo ſwiftly as to appear a continued track of light, and leſſening to the view according to the encreaſe of diſtance, till it end in a point, and then diſappear; and all this muſt be ſuppoſed to ſtrike our eye at one inſtant.

BEATTIE.

Drayton, in his *David and Goliah*, 1630, aſſimilates the Philiſtian champion to a pyramid on fire, becauſe the ſun ſhone on his armour!

"He look't *like to a piramid on fire!*"

Ver. 1016. ——— *wins his way;*] Gray has copied the phraſe, *Prog. of Poeſy*;

"In gliding ſtate ſhe *wins* her eaſy *way*."

Ver. 1017. ——— *than when Argo paſs'd* &c.] The firſt long ſhip ever ſeen in Greece, in which Jaſon and his companions ſailed to Colchis, to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Boſporus*, the ſtraits of Conſtantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is ſometimes written *Boſphorus*; but Milton, more exact and accurate, writes it *Boſporus*, according to the beſt Greek authors, from Βοὸς πόρος, *bovis tranſitus*, the ſea being ſo narrow there, that cattle are ſaid to have ſwum acroſs it. *Betwixt the juſtling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 19. "*concurrentia ſaxa*;" which Milton very well tranſlates *the*

Or when Ulyſſes on the larboard ſhunn'd
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool ſteer'd. 1020

juſtling rocks, becauſe they were ſo near, that at a diſtance they ſeemed to open and ſhut again, and juſtle one another, as the ſhip varied its courſe this way and that as uſual. See Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. iv. cap. xiii; and Apoll. Rhodius, *Argonaut.* ii. 317, &c. In ſhort, Satan's voyage through the fighting elements, was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow ſeas betwixt juſtling rocks. NEWTON.

Ver. 1019. *Or when Ulyſſes on the larboard ſhunn'd Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool ſteer'd.*] Theſe two verſes Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larboard* (ſays he) is abominable in heroick poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employed there: and Milton in other places has uſed nautical terms, without being cenſured for it by the Doctor. So, in B. ix. 513, he ſpeaks of *working a ſhip*, of *veering* and *ſhifting*; and in B. i. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is obſerved to be a term borrowed from mariners, by Servius in his notes on *Georg.* ii. 44, and *Æn.* iii. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections againſt the ſenſe of theſe verſes. Firſt he ſays, that *larboard* or left hand is a miſtake here for *ſtarboard* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *ſtarboard* of *Ulyſſes*, when he ſailed through theſe ſtraits. This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here ſays; for the ſenſe may be, not that Ulyſſes ſhunned *Charybdis* ſituated on the *larboard* of his ſhip as he was ſailing; but that *Ulyſſes*, ſailing on the *larboard*, (to the left hand where Scylla was) did thereby ſhun *Charybdis*; which was the truth of the caſe. The Doctor's other objection is, that Scylla was no *whirlpool*, which yet ſhe is here ſuppoſed to have been: but Virgil (whom Milton follows oftener than he does Homer) deſcribes Scylla as *naves in ſaxa trahentem*, *Æn.* iii. 425, and what is that leſs than calling it a *whirlpool*? And Athan. Kircher, who has written a particular account of Scylla and Charybdis upon his own view of them, does not ſcruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that Scylla is a rock ſituated in a ſmall bay on the Italian coaſt, into which bay the tide

So he with difficulty and labour hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour he;
But, he once paſt, ſoon after, when man fell,
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track, ſuch was the will of Heaven,
Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyſs, whoſe boiling gulf
Tamely endur'd a bridge of wonderous length

runs with a very ſtrong current, ſo as to draw in the ſhips which are within the compaſs of its force, and either daſh them againſt the rock, or ſwallow them in the eddies: for when the ſtreams have thus violently ruſhed into the bay, they meet with the rock Scylla at the farther end, and, being beat back, muſt therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gathered partly from *Sandys's Travels*, and partly from *Hiſtoria orbis terræ*, &c. Vide Hoffman. Lexicon. PEARCE.

Ver. 1028. *Tamely endur'd a bridge*] Dr. Newton here agrees with Dr. Bentley, in cenſuring this introduction of the *infernal bridge*; becauſe it is deſcribed in the tenth book for ſeveral lines together as a thing untouched before, and an incident to ſurpriſe the reader: And therefore the poet ſhould not have anticipated it here.

Milton is ſaid to have apparently copied *this bridge*, not, as Dr. Warton has conjectured, from the Perſian poet Sadi, but from the Arabian fiction of the bridge called in Arabick *al Sirat*; which is ſaid *to extend over the infernal gulph*, and is repreſented as narrower than a ſpider's web, and ſharper than the edge of a ſword. Pocock in Port. Moſ. p. 282. See *Annotations* on Hiſt. of Caliph Vathek, 1786, p. 314.

So, in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* p. 207, the Furies, leaving *Hell*, are deſcribed "rowling their ſteely cars over the *Stygian bridge*." Compare alſo R. Niccols, in the *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, 1610, p. 814.

"And vp from darkſome Lymboes diſmall ſtage,
"O'er *Stygian bridge*, from Pluto's emperie,
"Came Night's black brood, Diſorder, Ruine, Rage, &c."

From Hell continued reaching the utmoſt orb
Of this frail world; by which the Spirits perverſe
With eaſy intercourſe paſs to and fro
To tempt or puniſh mortals, except whom
God, and good Angels, guard by ſpecial grace.
But now at laſt the ſacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
Shoots far into the boſom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn: Here Nature firſt begins
Her fartheſt verge, and Chaos to retire
As from her outmoſt works a broken foe
With tumult leſs, and with leſs hoſtile din,
That Satan with leſs toil, and now with eaſe
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And, like a weather-beaten veſſel, holds
Gladly the port, though ſhrouds and tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waſte, reſembling air,

Ver. 1033. *God, and good Angels,*] So, in Shakſpeare, *Rich.* III.

"*God, and good Angels,* fight on Richmond's ſide."

And in Herrick's *Noble Numbers*, 1647, p. 74.

"*God, and good Angels,* guide thee."

Ver. 1039. *As from* her *outmoſt works*] From the outmoſt works *of Nature*, mentioned before. NEWTON.

Ver. 1042. ——— *by dubious light,*] In this line, and in the preceding deſcription of the *glimmering dawn* that Satan firſt meets with, Milton very probably alludes to Seneca's elegant account of Hercules's paſſage out of Hell, *Herc. Fur.* 668.

"Non cæca tenebris incipit prima via:
"Tenuis relictæ lucis a tergo nitor,
"Fulgórque dubius ſolis afflicti cadit." THYER.

Weighs his ſpread wings, at leiſure to behold
Far off the empyreal Heaven, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd ſquare or round,
With opal towers and battlements adorn'd
Of living ſapphire, once his native ſeat;
And faſt by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendant world, in bigneſs as a ſtar

Ver. 1046. Weighs *his ſpread wings,*] In like manner Taſſo, deſcribing the angel Gabriel's flight, *Gier. Lib.* c. i. ſt. 14.

" E ſi *librò* ſu l' adeguate penne."

But I think, notwithſtanding the natural partiality one has for one's countryman, the preference muſt be given to the Italian. THYER.

Ver. 1049. *With opal towers and battlements adorn'd*
Of living ſapphire,] The city of the great king is thus adorned with jewels, in Spenſer, *F. Q.* i. x. 55.

" Whoſe *walls* and *towres* were builded high and ſtrong
" Of *perle* and *precious ſtone.*"

But ſee note, B. iii. 506.

Ver. 1052. *This pendant world,*] Shakeſpeare, *Meaſ. for Meaſ.* A. iii. S. i.

" To be impriſon'd in the viewleſs winds,
" And blown with reſtleſs violence round about
" This *pendant world.*"

Ibid. *This pendant world, in bigneſs as a ſtar*
Of ſmalleſt magnitude cloſe by the moon,] By *this pendant world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fixed ſtars immenſely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in compariſon. This is certain from what Chaos had lately ſaid, ver. 1004.

" Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world,
" Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain."

Beſides, Satan did not ſee the Earth yet; he was afterwards ſurpriſed *at the ſudden view of all this world at once,* B. iii. 542,

Of ſmalleſt magnitude cloſe by the moon.
Thither, full fraught with miſchievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a curſed hour, he hies.

and wandered long on the outſide of it; till at laſt he ſaw our ſun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where the Earth and Paradiſe were. See B. iii. 722. *This pendant world* therefore muſt mean the whole world, the new created univerſe; and, *beheld far off*, it appeared in compariſon with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than *a ſtar of ſmalleſt magnitude*; nay, not ſo large; it appeared no bigger than ſuch a ſtar appears to be when it is *cloſe by the moon*, the ſuperiour light whereof makes any ſtar, that happens to be near her diſk, to ſeem exceedingly ſmall and almoſt diſappear. NEWTON.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

God, ſitting on his throne, ſees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; ſhows him to the Son, who ſat at his right hand; foretels the ſucceſs of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own juſtice and wiſdom from all imputation, having created Man free, and able enough to have withſtood his tempter; yet declares his purpoſe of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him ſeduced. The Son of God renders praiſes to his Father for the manifeſtation of his gracious purpoſe towards Man: But God again declares, that grace cannot be extended towards Man without the ſatisfaction of divine juſtice; Man hath offended the majeſty of God by aſpiring to Godhead, and, therefore, with all his progeny, devoted to death, muſt die, unleſs ſome one can be found ſufficient to anſwer for his offence, and undergo his puniſhment. The Son of God freely offers himſelf a ranſom for Man: The Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him: They obey, and, hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermoſt orb; where wandering he firſt finds a place, ſince called the Limbo of Vanity: What perſons and things fly up thither: Thence comes to the gate of Heaven, deſcribed aſcending by ſtairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His paſſage thence to the orb of the ſun; he finds there Uriel, the regent of that orb, but firſt changes himſelf into the ſhape of a meaner Angel; and, pretending a zealous deſire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had placed here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed: Alights firſt on mount Niphates.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

HAIL, holy Light, offspring of Heaven firſt-born,
Or of the Eternal coeternal beam

Ver. 1. *Hail, holy Light,* &c.] Our author's addreſs to Light, and lamentation of his own blindneſs, may perhaps be cenſured as an excreſence or digreſſion not agreeable to the rules of epick poetry; but yet this is ſo charming a part of the poem, that the moſt critical reader, I imagine, cannot wiſh it were omitted. One is even pleaſed with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occaſion of ſo many beauties, and acquaints us ſo much with the circumſtances and character of the author. NEWTON.

Ver. 2. *Or of the Eternal coeternal beam*
May I expreſs thee unblam'd?] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the Eternal God? The ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they addreſſed their deities, and Milton in imitation of them queſtions whether he ſhould addreſs the Light as the firſt-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the Eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal ſtream whoſe fountain is unknown: But as the ſecond appellation ſeems to aſcribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very juſtly doubts whether he might uſe that without blame. NEWTON.

In his *Samſon Agon.* v. 83, he gives to Light the firſt of theſe appellations;

"O *firſt created* beam!"——

May I expreſs thee unblam'd? ſince God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright eſſence increate.
Or hear'ſt thou rather pure ethereal ſtream,
Whoſe fountain who ſhall tell? Before the ſun,
Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle, didſt inveſt

Ver. 3. ——— *ſince God is light,*
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt] From I. *John* i. 5. "*God is light.*" And I. *Tim.* vi. 16. "Who only hath immortality, *dwelling* in the *light*, which *no man can approach* unto." NEWTON.

See alſo Mr. Warton's note, *Il Penſ.* v. 16.

Ver. 6. *Bright effluence of bright eſſence increate.*] What the Wiſdom of Solomon ſays of *Wiſdom*, Milton applies to *Light*. ch. vii. 25, 26. "She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; She is the brightneſs of the everlaſting light." NEWTON.

Ver. 7. *Or hear'ſt thou rather*] Or doſt thou rather hear this addreſs, doſt thou delight rather to be called, *pure ethereal ſtream?* An excellent Latiniſm, as Dr. Bentley obſerves, Hor. *Sat.* II. vi. 29.

"Matutine pater ſeu Jane libentius *audis?*"

And we have an expreſſion of the ſame kind in Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, i. v. 23.

"If old Aveugle's ſons *ſo evil hear.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 8. *Whoſe fountain who ſhall tell?*] As in Job xxxviii. 19. "*Where is the way where light dwelleth?*" HUME.

Ver. 10. ——— *as with a* mantle *didſt* inveſt
The riſing world &c.] See note, B. i. 207. But Milton, perhaps, had the following paſſage of *Job* in view, xxxviii. 9. "I made the cloud *the garment* thereof, and thick darkneſs a ſwaddling-band for it."

The riſing world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formleſs infinite.
Thee I re-viſit now with bolder wing,
Eſcap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
In that obſcure ſojourn, while in my flight
Through utter and through middle darkneſs borne,
With other notes than to the Orphéan lyre,

Ver. 11. *The riſing world of waters dark and deep,*] For the world was only in a ſtate of fluidity, when the light was created. See *Gen.* i. 2, 3. The verſe is plainly formed upon this of Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 39.

" And through the *world of waters* wide and *deep.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 12. *Won from the void and formleſs infinite.*] *Void* muſt not here be underſtood as *emptineſs*, for Chaos is deſcribed full of matter; but *void*, as deſtitute of any formed being, void as the earth was when firſt created. What Moſes ſays of that, is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void.* A ſhort but noble deſcription of Chaos, which is ſaid to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 16. *Through* utter *and through* middle *darkneſs*] Through Hell, which is often called *utter* darkneſs; and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle* darkneſs. NEWTON.

Ver. 17. *With other notes than to the Orphéan lyre, &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is ſtill extant; he alſo wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See *Apoll. Rhodius*, i. 493. Orpheus was inſpired by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heavenly Muſe*; therefore he boaſts that he ſung with *other notes* than Orpheus, though the ſubjects were the ſame. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——————— *the Orphéan lyre*,] Mr. Warton ſays that the epithet is perfectly Grecian, and the combination literally from Apollonius Rhodius: See his note, *Eleg.* vi. 37.—But " the *Orphean lyre*" had appeared before in Engliſh poetry, as I find in Harington's *Poliudor and Floſtella*, 1651, p. 57.

—— " the *Orphean lyre* out-mated."

I ſung of Chaos and eternal Night;
Taught by the heavenly Muſe to venture down
The dark deſcent, and up to re-aſcend,
Though hard and rare: Thee I reviſit ſafe,
And feel thy ſovran vital lamp; but thou
Reviſit'ſt not theſe eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
So thick a drop ſerene hath quench'd their orbs,

Ver. 25. *So thick a drop ſerene hath quench'd their orbs,*
Or dim ſuffuſion veil'd.] *Drop ſerene* or *Gutta ſerena.* It was formerly thought, that that ſort of blindneſs was an incurable extinction or quenching of ſight by a tranſparent, watery, cold humour diſtilling upon the optick nerve, though making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; it is now known to be moſt commonly an obſtruction in the capillary veſſels of that nerve, and curable in ſome caſes. A *cataract* for many ages, until about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the ſight, beginning with dimneſs, and ſo encreaſing till viſion was totally obſtructed: but the diſeaſe is in the cryſtalline humour lying between the outmoſt coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimneſs, which is at the beginning, is called a *ſuffuſion*; and, when the ſight is loſt, it is a *cataract*; and cured by couching, which is with a needle paſſing through the external coat and driving down the diſeaſed cryſtalline, the loſs of which is ſomewhat ſupplied by the uſe of a large convex glaſs.

When Milton was firſt blind, he wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to conſult Dr. Thevenot; he ſent his caſe (it is in the 15th of his familiar letters): what anſwer he had is not known; but it ſeems by this paſſage that he was not certain what his diſeaſe was: or perhaps he had a mind to deſcribe both the great cauſes of blindneſs according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interſperſed with great variety of learning. RICHARDSON.

Or dim ſuffuſion veil'd. Yet not the more
Ceaſe I to wander, where the Muſes haunt
Clear ſpring, or ſhady grove, or ſunny hill,
Smit with the love of ſacred ſong; but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath,
That waſh thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I viſit: nor ſometimes forget

Ver. 26. ——————— *Yet not the more*
Ceaſe *I to wander,*] Yet do not I *forbear* to follow the Muſes whereſoever they meet. HUME.

This is the ſenſe of the paſſage, which Dr. Bentley and Dr. Pearce propoſed to alter, but which Dr. Newton allows.

Ver. 27. ——————— *where the Muſes* haunt
Clear ſpring, *or* ſhady grove,] So, in Sandys's *Ovid*, 1656, p. 6.

" Our Demi-gods, Nymphs, Sylvans, Satyrs, Faunes,
" Who *haunt clear ſprings*, &c,"

And, in biſhop Hall's *Defiance to Envy*,

" Come, Nymphs and Fauns, that *haunt* thoſe *ſhady groves*,"

Ver. 29. *Smit with the love of ſacred ſong*;] So Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 475.

——— " Dulces ante omnia Muſæ,
" Quarum ſacra fero ingenti percuſſus amore."

NEWTON.

Ver. 30. ——————— *the flowery brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He ſtill was pleaſed to ſtudy the beauties of the ancient poets, but his higheſt delight was in the ſongs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures; and in theſe he meditated day and night. This is the ſenſe of the paſſage, ſtript of its poetical ornaments.

NEWTON.

Ver. 32. ——————— *nor ſometimes forget*] It is the ſame as *and ſometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently the ſame as *et non*. PEARCE.

Thoſe other two equall'd with me in fate,
So were I equall'd with them in renown,

Ver. 33. *Thoſe other two* &c.] It has been imagined that Milton dictated *Thoſe other too*, which though different in ſenſe, yet is not diſtinguiſhable in ſound; ſo that they might eaſily be miſtaken the one for the other. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech perhaps we ſhould read *others* inſtead of *other*, *Thoſe others too*: but *thoſe other* may be admitted as well as *theſe other* in B. iv. 783.—— *theſe other wheel the north*: but then it muſt be acknowledged that *too* is a ſorry botch at beſt. The moſt probable explanation of this paſſage I conceive to be this. Though he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly deſires to reſemble, and thoſe he diſtinguiſhes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeneſs the more ſtriking:

"*Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides.*"

Mæonides is Homer, ſo called from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet deſires to equal him in renown, whoſe writings he ſo much ſtudied, admired, and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not ſo well known and eſtabliſhed: but Homer mentions him in the *Iliad*, ii. 595; and Euſtathius ranks him with Orpheus and Muſæus, the moſt celebrated poets and muſicians. Plato mentions his hymns with honour in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws, and towards the concluſion of the laſt book of his Republick feigns, upon the principles of tranſmigration, that the ſoul of Thamyris paſſed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth and invented the Dorick mood or meaſure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch, in his treatiſe of Muſick, ſays that he had the fineſt voice of any of his time, and that he wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and from Suidas we learn that he compoſed likewiſe a poem of the generation of the world, which, being ſubjects near of kin to Milton's, might probably occaſion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyris* then, and *Homer*, are *thoſe other two*, whom the poet principally deſires to reſemble: And it ſeems as if he had intended at firſt to mention only theſe two, and then, *currente calamo*, had added the two others, *Tireſias*, and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a king of Arcadia;

Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides,
And Tireſias, and Phineus, prophets old:
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in ſhadieſt covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year
Seaſons return; but not to me returns

famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity; for the word *prophet* ſometimes comprehends both characters, as *vates* does in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 35. *And Tireſias, and Phineus, prophets old:*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verſe; but it is genuine. *Tireſias* is repeatedly celebrated by Milton. See Mr. Warton's note, *Eleg.* vi. 67.

Dr. Pearce propoſes to improve the line, by reading,

"And Phineus, and Tireſias, prophets old."

Ver. 37. *Then* feed on thoughts,] Compare Shakſpeare, *Ant. and Cleop.* A. iv. S. xiii.

——— "pleaſe your *thoughts*,
"In *feeding them* with thoſe my former fortunes, &c."

Thus alſo in Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 92.

——— "*On thoughts he feeds.*"

Milton uſes the phraſe again, in *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 258. "*Fed with better thoughts.*" And in his *Proſe-Works*, 1698, vol. i. p. 223. "I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs hopes than theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing ſolitarineſs, *fed with* cheerful and confident *thoughts*, to imbark in a troubled ſea of noiſes, &c."

Ver. 39. *Sings* darkling,] It is ſaid that *darkling* was coined by Milton, but I find it uſed ſeveral times in Shakſpeare, and in the authors of that age. NEWTON.

Ver. 41. *Seaſons return; but not to me returns*] This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third

Day, or the ſweet approach of even or morn,
Or ſight of vernal bloom, or ſummer's roſe,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
But cloud inſtead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Preſented with a univerſal blank

Act of Guarini's *Paſtor Fido*, where Mirtillo addreſſes the ſpring:

" Tu torni ben, ma teco
" Non tornano &c.
" Tu torni ben, tu torni,
" Ma teco altro non torna, &c." NEWTON.

The pathetick complaint of Robert Duke of Normandy on his blindneſs may be alſo here compared, *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, edit. 1610. p. 654.

" Can I diſtinguiſh day from darkſome night?
" Or do I know the ſeaſons of the yeare?
" Know I when ſpring deckes earth with ſweet delight,
" When ſummer's ſun glads earth with his bright cleare,
" Or when in woods Autumnus' fruits appeare?
" O, no; of nought but winter can I tell,
" Whom, by his boyſterous blaſts, I know right well."

There is likewiſe a ſimilar turn of the words in Petrarch's beautiful Sonnet, beginning,

" Zefiro torna e 'l bel tempo rimena."

Ver. 48. *Preſented with a univerſal blank*
Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,] Perhaps we ſhould read and point the paſſage thus:

" Preſented with a univerſal blank;
" *All* nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,"

that is, " all nature's works being, in reſpect to the univerſal blank, or abſence of light from me, expung'd to me and ras'd." PEARCE.

Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,
And wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out. 50
So much the rather thou, celeſtial Light,

It is to be wiſhed that ſome ſuch emendation as this was admitted. It clears the ſyntax, which at preſent is very much embarraſſed. *All nature's works* being *to me expung'd and ras'd, and wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out*, is plain and intelligible; but otherwiſe it is not eaſy to ſay what the conjunction *and* copulates *wiſdom* to, v. 50. NEWTON.

Ver. 49. ——————————— *ras'd,*] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans, who wrote on waxed tables with iron ſtyles, when they ſtruck out a word, did *tabulam radere*, raſe it out.

Light, and the bleſſings of it, were never drawn in more lively colours and finer ſtrokes; nor was the ſad loſs of it, and them, ever ſo paſſionately and ſo patiently lamented. They, that will read the moſt excellent Homer bemoaning the ſame misfortune, will find him far ſhort of this. Herodotus, in his life, gives us ſome verſes, in which he bewailed his blindneſs. HUME.

Ver. 51. *So much the rather thou, celeſtial Light,*
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate; there plant eyes,] See Homer, *Odyſſ.* x.

——————— Θηβαίε Τειρεσίαο
Μάντιος ἀλαοῦ, τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι.

which Pope tranſlates,

——— "The Theban bard, depriv'd of ſight,
"*Within irradiate* with prophetic light."

And compare alſo Guarini, *Paſt. Fid.* A. v. S. vi.

"O' quanto ſpeſſo giova
"La cecità de gli occhi al veder molto!
"Ch' allor non traviata
"L' anima, ed in ſe ſteſſa
"Tutta raccolta, ſuole
"Aprir nel cieco ſenſo occhi lincei."

Milton repreſents Samſon, "though blind of ſight, with *inward eyes* illuminated, v. 1689." And in his Proſe-Works,

Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.
Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From the pure empyrean where he sits
High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
His own works and their works at once to view:
About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd

when he speaks of his blindness, he expresses the same sentiment. In these various passages he also bore in mind the sublime expression of St. Paul, *Ephes.* i. 18. "The *eyes of your understanding* being enlightened."

Ver. 56. *Now had the Almighty Father* &c.] The picture of the Almighty's looking down from Heaven is much the same with that which Tasso gives in the following lines, *Gier. Lib.* c. i. st. 7.

"Quando dall' alto soglio il Padre eterno,
"Ch' è ne la parte più del ciel sincera;
"E quanto è dalle stelle al basso inferno,
"Tanto è più in sù della stellata spera;
"Gli occhi in giù volse, e in un sol punto, e in una
"Vista mirò ciò, che 'n se il mondo aduna."

THYER.

Ver. 61. ——— *and from* his sight *receiv'd*
Beatitude *past utterance;*] Milton here alludes to the *beatifick vision*, in which divines suppose the happiness of the saints to consist. THYER.

Sandys, in his *Paraphrase on Job*, 1637, has a similar passage:

"Againe when all the radiant Sonnes of Light
"Before *his* throne appear'd, *whose* only *sight*
"*Beatitude* infus'd."

Beatitude paſt utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory ſat,
His only Son; on earth he firſt beheld
Our two firſt parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love,
In bliſsful ſolitude; he then ſurvey'd
Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coaſting the wall of Heaven on this ſide Night
In the dun air ſublime, and ready now
To ſtoop with wearied wings, and willing feet,
On the bare outſide of this world, that ſeem'd
Firm land imboſom'd, without firmament,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.

Ver. 62. ——————— *on his right*
The radiant image of his glory ſat
His only Son;] According to St. Paul, *Heb.* i. 3. "His Son—the brightneſs of his glory, ſat down on the right hand of the Majeſty on high." Let the diſcerning linguiſt compare the preceding deſcription of God with that by Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. ſt. 55, 56, 57. HUME.

Ver. 72. *In the* dun air] This is the *aer bruno* of the Italians, who almoſt conſtantly expreſs a gloomy, duſky air, in theſe terms. THYER.

Ver. 75. *Firm land imboſom'd, without firmament*, &c.] The univerſe appear'd to Satan to be a ſolid globe, encompaſſed on all ſides but uncertain whether with water or air, but *without firmament*, without any ſphere or fixed ſtars over it, as over the earth. The ſphere, or fixed ſtars, was itſelf comprehended in it, and made a part of it. NEWTON.

Him God beholding from his proſpect high,
Wherein paſt, preſent, future, he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreſeeing ſpake.

Only begotten Son, ſeeſt thou what rage
Tranſports our Adverſary? whom no bounds
Preſcrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyſs
Wide interrupt, can hold; ſo bent he ſeems
On deſperate revenge, that ſhall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now,
Through all reſtraint broke looſe, he wings his way
Not far off Heaven, in the precincts of light,
Directly towards the new created world,
And Man there plac'd, with purpoſe to aſſay
If him by force he can deſtroy, or, worſe,
By ſome falſe guile pervert; and ſhall pervert;
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,

Ver. 77. *Him God beholding from his proſpect high,*
Wherein paſt, preſent, future, he beholds,] Boethius, an author not unworthy of our poet's imitation, deſcribing the Deity, uſes exactly the ſame terms, *De Conſ. Philoſ.* L. iv. "Qui cum ex *alta* providentiæ *ſpecula* reſpicit, quid cuique eveniat." Again, L. v. Metr. ii.

"*Quæ ſint, quæ fuerint, veniántque,*
"Uno mentis cernit in ictu." THYER.

Ver. 93. ——— *his* glozing *lies,*] The ſame expreſſion is applied to the Devil, B. ix. 549. "So *gloz'd* the Tempter." See note on *Comus*, v. 161. Thus alſo, in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, the Tempter's addreſs to Eve is called "*glozing* rhetorike."

And eaſily tranſgreſs the ſole command,
Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall
He and his faithleſs progeny: Whoſe fault?
Whoſe but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him juſt and right,
Sufficient to have ſtood, though free to fall.
Such I created all the ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who ſtood, and them who fail'd;
Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have given ſincere
Of true allegiance, conſtant faith or love,
Where only what they needs muſt do appear'd,
Not what they would? what praiſe could they receive?
What pleaſure I from ſuch obedience paid,
When will and reaſon (reaſon alſo is choice)

Ver. 98. ——— *I made him juſt and right,*] *Eccleſ.* vii. 29. "God made man upright." GILLIES.

Ver. 101. ——— *both them who ſtood, and them who* fail'd;] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line ſhow that the author gave it,

——— "both them who ſtood and them who *fell*;
"Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell."

BENTLEY.

Ver. 108. ——— (*reaſon alſo is choice*)] Milton had expreſſed the ſame ſentiment before in his *Areopagitica*; "Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for ſuffering Adam to tranſgreſs. Fooliſh tongues! when God gave him *reaſon*, he gave him *freedom to chuſe*; for *reaſon is but chooſing*: He had been elſe a mere artificial Adam." NEWTON.

Uſeleſs and vain, of freedom both deſpoil'd,
Made paſſive both, had ſerv'd neceſſity,
Not me? They therefore, as to right belong'd,
So were created, nor can juſtly accuſe
Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predeſtination over-rul'd
Their will, diſpos'd by abſolute decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themſelves decreed
Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no leſs prov'd certain unforeknown.
So without leaſt impúlſe or ſhadow of fate,
Or aught by me immutably foreſeen,
They treſpaſs, authors to themſelves in all
Both what they judge, and what they chooſe; for ſo
I form'd them free: And free they muſt remain,

Ver. 117. ——— if *I foreknew*,] *If* here does not imply the leaſt doubt or uncertainty; but it is uſed, as it is ſometimes in the beſt authors, in the ſenſe of *though*. "Though I foreknew, that foreknowledge had no influence." NEWTON.

Ver. 121. *Or aught by me* immutably foreſeen,] To *foreſee immutably*, ſays Dr. Bentley, are two ideas that cannot unite: He thinks therefore that Milton muſt have given it, *immutably foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong, I think. Milton ſeems rather to have dictated,

"Or aught by me *immutable* foreſeen;"

where *aught immutable* may ſignify any event that cannot be changed or altered. PEARCE.

Immutably foreſeen ſeems to mean ſo foreſeen as to be *immutable*. If Milton had dictated *immutable*, he would probably have ſaid,

"Or *aught immutable* by me foreſeen." NEWTON.

Till they enthrall themſelves; I elſe muſt change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom; they themſelves ordain'd their fall.
The firſt ſort by their own ſuggeſtion fell,
Self-tempted, ſelf-deprav'd: Man falls, deceiv'd
By the other firſt: Man therefore ſhall find grace,
The other none: In mercy and juſtice both,
Through Heaven and Earth, ſo ſhall my glory excel;
But mercy, firſt and laſt, ſhall brighteſt ſhine.
Thus while God ſpake, ambroſial fragrance fill'd
All Heaven, and in the bleſſed Spirits elect

Ver. 135. *Thus while God ſpake,* &c.] Milton here ſhows, that he was no ſervile imitator of the ancients. It is very well known, that his maſter Homer, and all who followed him, where they are repreſenting the Deity ſpeaking, deſcribe a ſcene of terrour and awful conſternation. *The Heavens, Seas, and Earth, tremble* &c. and this, to be ſure, was conſiſtent enough with their natural notions of the Supreme Being: But it would not have been ſo agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Chriſtian ſcheme, and therefore our author has very judiciouſly made the words of the Almighty diffuſing fragrance and delight to all around him. There is a paſſage in Arioſto, which is exactly in the ſame taſte with what Milton has given us, c. 29. ſt. 30.

"Dio così diſſe; e ſe ſerena intorno
"L'aria, e tranquillo il mar più che mai fuſſe."

THYER.

The breath of Jove is deſcribed as ſhedding ſuch exquiſite fragrance, as might inſpire the dead with life, in Camöens's *Luſiad*, c. i. ſt. xxii.

Senſe of new joy ineffable diffus'd.
Beyond compare the Son of God was ſeen
Moſt glorious; in him all his Father ſhone
Subſtantially expreſs'd; and in his face
Divine compaſſion viſibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without meaſure grace,
Which uttering, thus he to his Father ſpake.
O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
Thy ſovran ſentence, that Man ſhould find grace;
For which both Heaven and Earth ſhall high extol
Thy praiſes, with the innumerable ſound

Ver. 139. ——— *in him all his Father ſhone*] P. Fletcher uſes a ſimilar phraſe, in ſpeaking of our Lord, *Purp. Iſl.* c. xii. ſt. 81.

"*Full of his Father ſhines* his glorious face."

Ver. 140. *Subſtantially expreſs'd;*] According to *Heb.* i. 3, where the Son of God is ſtyled, "the brightneſs of his Father's glory, and the *expreſs image* of his perſon;" Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, the *character of his ſubſtance*, as the original expreſſes it. HUME.

Ibid. ——— *in his face*
Divine compaſſion viſibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without meaſure grace,] Marino, *Geruſalemme Diſtrutta*, c. vii. ſt. 62.

"Pace, pace e pietà ſcritto à vermiglio
"In quei vivi caratteri gli leſſe;
"E ne gli occhi, non men libri del core,
"Leſſe a lettere di foco, Amor, Amore."

Hiſtorical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, by Joſeph Cooper Walker, Eſq; 1799. Appendix, p. xxxiv.

Ver. 147. ——— *with the* innumerable *ſound*
Of hymns and ſacred ſongs,] So, in B. i. 101.

Of hymns and ſacred ſongs, wherewith thy throne
Encompaſs'd ſhall reſound thee ever bleſt.
For ſhould man finally be loſt, ſhould Man,
Thy creature late ſo lov'd, thy youngeſt ſon,
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
With his own folly? That be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
Of all things made, and judgeſt only right.
Or ſhall the Adverſary thus obtain
His end, and fruſtrate thine? ſhall he fulfil
His malice, and thy goodneſs bring to nought,
Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
Yet with revenge accompliſh'd, and to Hell
Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyſelf
Aboliſh thy creation, and unmake
For him, what for thy glory thou haſt made?
So ſhould thy goodneſs and thy greatneſs both
Be queſtion'd and blaſphem'd without defence.

To whom the great Creator thus replied.
O Son, in whom my ſoul hath chief delight,

" The *innumerable* force of ſpirits." In both places the word *innumerable*, though joined to *ſound* and *force*, in ſenſe refers to *ſongs* and *ſpirits*. PEARCE.

Ver. 153. ——— *That be from thee far,*
That be far from thee, &c.] An imitation of *Geneſis*, xviii. 25. " *That be far from thee* to do after this manner, to ſlay the righteous with the wicked; and, that the righteous ſhould be as the wicked, *that be far from thee: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?*" NEWTON.

Ver. 168. *O Son*, &c.] The Son is here addreſſed by ſeveral

Son of my boſom, Son who art alone
My word, my wiſdom, and effectual might,
All haſt thou ſpoken as my thoughts are, all
As my eternal purpoſe hath decreed:
Man ſhall not quite be loſt, but ſav'd who will;
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchſaf'd; once more I will renew
His lapſed powers, though forfeit, and enthrall'd
By ſin to foul exorbitant deſires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he ſhall ſtand
On even ground againſt his mortal foe;
By me upheld, that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me.
Some I have choſen of peculiar grace,
Elect above the reſt; ſo is my will:
The reſt ſhall hear me call, and oft be warn'd
Their ſinful ſtate, and to appeaſe betimes

titles and appellations borrowed from the following texts of Scripture, St. *Matt.* iii. 17, *John* i. 18, *Rev.* xix. 13, and 1. *Cor.* i. 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 180. *By me upheld,*] It was before, ver. 178. *Upheld by me.* The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftener taken notice of theſe turns of the words, becauſe it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 183. *Some I have choſen of peculiar grace,* &c.] Our author did not hold the doctrine of rigid predeſtination; he was of the ſentiments of the more moderate Calviniſts, and thought that ſome indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the reſt might be ſaved complying with the terms and conditions of the Goſpel. NEWTON.

The incenſed Deity, while offer'd grace
Invites; for I will clear their ſenſes dark,
What may ſuffice, and ſoften ſtony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavour'd with ſincere intent,
Mine ear ſhall not be ſlow, mine eye not ſhut.
And I will place within them as a guide,
My umpire Conſcience; whom if they will hear,
Light after light, well us'd, they ſhall attain,
And to the end, perſiſting, ſafe arrive.
This my long ſufferance, and my day of grace,
They who neglect and ſcorn, ſhall never taſte;
But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,

Ver. 189. ——————— *and ſoften* ſtony hearts] *Ezek.* xxxvi. 26. "I will take away the *ſtony heart* out of your fleſh." GILLIES.

The phraſe is uſed by Shakſpeare, in *K. Hen.* IV. Part ii.

"Thou hid'ſt a thouſand daggers in thy thoughts;
"Which thou haſt whetted on thy *ſtony heart*, &c."

Ver. 197. *And to the end, perſiſting, ſafe arrive.*] St. *Matt.* x. 22. "He, that endureth to the end, ſhall be ſaved." HUME.

Ver. 198. *This my long ſufferance, and my day of grace,*
They who neglect and ſcorn, ſhall never taſte;] It is a great pity that our author ſhould have thus debaſed the dignity of the Deity, by putting in his mouth this horrid doctrine of a day of grace, after which it is not poſſible for a man to repent; and there can be no ſort of excuſe for him, except the candid reader will make ſome allowance for the prejudices, which he might poſſibly receive from the gloomy divinity of that enthuſiaſtick age in which he lived. THYER.

That they may ſtumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but ſuch from mercy I exclude.
But yet all is not done; Man diſobeying,
Diſloyal, breaks his fealty, and ſins
Againſt the high ſupremacy of Heaven,
Affecting God-head, and, ſo loſing all,
To expiate his treaſon hath nought left,
But to deſtruction ſacred and devote,
He, with his whole poſterity, muſt die,
Die he or juſtice muſt; unleſs for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid ſatisfaction, death for death.
Say, heavenly Powers, where ſhall we find ſuch love?
Which of ye will be mortal, to redeem
Man's mortal crime, and juſt the unjuſt to ſave?
Dwells in all Heaven charity ſo dear?
He aſk'd, but all the heavenly quire ſtood mute,

Ver. 215. ——— *and juſt the unjuſt to ſave?*] That is, Which of ye will be ſo juſt as to ſave the unjuſt? Which of ye will be righteous enough to ſupply the defects of others righteouſneſs? It is plainly an alluſion to 1 *Pet.* iii. 18. "*For Chriſt alſo hath once ſuffered for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 217. ——— *all the heavenly quire ſtood mute,*] This beautiful circumſtance is raiſed upon *Rev.* viii. 1, where, upon a certain occaſion, it is ſaid, "*There was ſilence in Heaven.*" And ſo, as there was ſilence in Hell, when it was propoſed who ſhould be ſent on the dangerous expedition to deſtroy mankind, there is likewiſe ſilence in Heaven, when it is aſked who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But though the ſilence is the ſame in both places, the difference of the

And ſilence was in Heaven: On Man's behalf
Patron or interceſſour none appear'd,
Much leſs that durſt upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ranſom ſet.
And now without redemption all mankind
Muſt have been loſt, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
By doom ſevere, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulneſs dwells of love divine,
His deareſt mediation thus renew'd.
Father, thy word is paſt, Man ſhall find grace;
And ſhall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The ſpeedieſt of thy winged meſſengers,
To viſit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unſought?

expreſſion is remarkable. In Hell it is ſaid *all ſat mute*, B. ii. 420, as there the infernal peers were ſitting in council; but here it is ſaid they *ſtood mute*, as the good Angels were ſtanding round about the throne of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 219. *Patron or interceſſour none*] *Iſaiah* lix. 16. "He ſaw that there was no man, and wondered that there was *no interceſſour*." GREENWOOD.

The poet alludes alſo, in uſing the word *patron*, to the character given of our Lord by St. John, "We have an *advocate* with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous." Beza's interpretation of *advocate* is, "noſtro quidem reſpectu *patronum*," patron *on our behalf*. Milton illuſtrates the meaning of *patron* alſo, in the argument to this book, by the phraſe, "*ſufficient to anſwer for Man's offence*."

Ver. 225. *In whom the* fulneſs dwells *of love divine*,] *Col.* ii. 9. "In him *dwelleth* all the *fulneſs* of the Godhead bodily."

Ver. 231. *Comes* unprevented,] *Prevent* from *prævenire*, to *come before*. This grace is not preceded by merit or ſupplication;

Happy for Man, ſo coming; he her aid
Can never ſeek, once dead in ſins, and loſt;
Atonement for himſelf, or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring:
Behold me then; me for him, life for life
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man; I for his ſake will leave
Thy boſom, and this glory next to thee
Freely put off, and for him laſtly die
Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreak all his rage;
Under his gloomy power I ſhall not long
Lie vanquiſh'd; thou haſt given me to poſſeſs
Life in myſelf for ever; by thee I live,
Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
All that of me can die; yet, that debt paid,

Itſelf *prevents*, or goes before; it is a free gift, as B. xi. 3. "*Prevenient* grace deſcending, &c." See II *Tim.* i. 9. And *Pſalm* lxxxviii. 13. "Unto thee have I cried, O Lord, and in the morning ſhall my prayer *prevent* thee." Here the favour, if it comes, comes not *unprevented*; prayer *prevents*, or goes before, God's goodneſs. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 236. *Behold* me *then*; me *for him*, *life for life*
I offer; *on* me *let thine anger fall*;
Account me *Man*;] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me*, is very like Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 427.

"*Me*, *me*: adſum qui feci: in *me* convertite ferrum:"

and, a little afterwards,

"Figite *me*, ſi qua eſt pietas: in *me* omnia tela
"Conjicite ô Rutuli; *me* primum abſumite ferro."

NEWTON.

Ver. 244. *Life in myſelf for ever*;] *John* v. 26. NEWTON.

Thou wilt not leave me in the loathſome grave
His prey, nor ſuffer my unſpotted ſoul
For ever with corruption there to dwell;
But I ſhall riſe victorious, and ſubdue
My vanquiſher, ſpoil'd of his vaunted ſpoil;
Death his death's wound ſhall then receive, and ſtoop
Inglorious, of his mortal ſting diſarm'd.
I through the ample air in triumph high
Shall lead Hell captive, maugre Hell, and ſhow
The Powers of darkneſs bound. Thou, at the ſight

Ver. 249. ——— *with corruption there to dwell;*] *Pſalm* xvi. 10. "Thou wilt not leave my ſoul in hell, neither ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee corruption;" applied to our Saviour's Reſurrection by St. Peter, *Acts* ii. 20, 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 252. *Death his death's wound ſhall then receive,*] I am very ſorry to obſerve, that the quaint conceit in this line is very inconſiſtent with the character of the ſpeaker, and unworthy of the majeſty of the reſt of the ſpeech. Milton might perhaps be led into it by a witticiſm of the ſame kind in Seneca, who, ſpeaking of the terrour Pluto was in from the wound he received from Hercules, ſays, *Herc. Fur.* ver. 568.

"Effugit tenui vulnere faucius,
"*Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori.*" THYER.

Or he might remember Donne, who abounds in quaint conceits; *Poems*, 1633. p. 36.

"And death ſhall be no more; *death, thou ſhalt die.*"

Ver. 254. *I through the ample air in triumph high* &c.] *Pſalm* lxviii. 18. "Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive." *Col.* ii. 15. "And, having ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a ſhow of them openly, triumphing over them in it." NEWTON.

Pleas'd, out of Heaven ſhalt look down and ſmile,
While, by thee rais'd, I ruin all my foes,
Death laſt, and with his carcaſs glut the grave:
Then, with the multitude of my redeem'd,
Shall enter Heaven, long abſent, and return,
Father, to ſee thy face, wherein no cloud
Of anger ſhall remain, but peace aſſur'd
And reconcilement; wrath ſhall be no more
Thenceforth, but in thy preſence joy entire.
His words here ended, but his meek aſpect
Silent yet ſpake, and breath'd immortal love

Ver. 259. *Death laſt,*] 1 *Cor.* xv. 26. "The *laſt* enemy, that ſhall be deſtroyed, is *Death.*" HUME.

Ver. 265. ——— *but in thy preſence joy entire.*] *Pſalm* xvi. 11. "In thy preſence is the fulneſs of joy."

Ver. 266. *His words here ended, but his meek aſpect*
Silent yet ſpake, &c.] What a charming and lovely picture has Milton given us of God the Son conſidered as our Saviour and Redeemer? not in the leaſt inferiour in its way to that grander one in the 6th book, where he deſcribes him clothed with majeſty and terrour, taking vengeance of his enemies. Before he repreſents him ſpeaking, he makes *divine compaſſion, love without end, and grace without meaſure, viſibly to appear in his face:* v. 140, and, carrying on the ſame amiable picture, makes him end it with a countenance *breathing immortal love to mortal men.* Nothing could be better contrived to leave a deep impreſſion upon the reader's mind, and I believe one may venture to aſſert, that no art or words could lift the imagination to a ſtronger idea of a good and benevolent being. The mute eloquence, which our author has ſo prettily expreſſed in his *ſilent yet ſpake,* is with no leſs beauty deſcribed by Taſſo at the end of Armida's ſpeech to Godfrey, c. 4. ſt. 65.

"Ciò detto tace, e la riſpoſta attende
"Con atto, ch'en ſilentio hà voce, e preghi."

THYER.

To mortal men, above which only ſhone
Filial obedience: As a ſacrifice
Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will
Of his great Father. Admiration ſeiz'd
All Heaven, what this might mean, and whither tend
Wondering; but ſoon the Almighty thus replied.
O thou in Heaven and Earth the only peace
Found out for mankind under wrath! O thou
My ſole complacence! well thou know'ſt how dear
To me are all my works, nor Man the leaſt,
Though laſt created; that for him I ſpare
Thee from my boſom and right hand, to ſave,
By loſing thee awhile, the whole race loſt.
Thou, therefore, whom thou only canſt redeem,

Ver. 269. ——— *As a ſacrifice* &c.] An alluſion to *Pſalm* xl. 6, and the two following verſes. NEWTON.

Ver. 274. ——— *the only* peace
Found out for mankind under wrath!] *Epheſ.* ii. 14. "He is our *peace*." GILLIES.

Ver. 277. ——— *nor Man the leaſt,*
Though laſt created;] The *leaſt dear;* ſomewhat like Shakſpeare's Lear to Cordelia, A. i. S. i.

——— "Now, our joy,
"*Although the laſt, not leaſt.*"

And Antony to Trebonius, *Jul. Cæſ.* A. iii. S. i.

"*Though laſt, not leaſt* in love." NEWTON.

Ver. 281. ——— *whom thou only canſt redeem,*
Their nature] That is, "the nature *of them,* whom thou only canſt redeem." A manner of ſpeaking very uſual with Milton. NEWTON.

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Their nature alſo to thy nature join;
And be thyſelf Man among men on earth,
Made fleſh, when time ſhall be, of virgin ſeed,
By wonderous birth: Be thou in Adam's room
The head of all mankind, though Adam's ſon.
As in him periſh all men, ſo in thee,
As from a ſecond root, ſhall be reſtor'd
As many as are reſtor'd, without thee none.
His crime makes guilty all his ſons; thy merit,
Imputed, ſhall abſolve them who renounce
Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
And live in thee tranſplanted, and from thee
Receive new life. So Man, as is moſt juſt,
Shall ſatisfy for Man, be judg'd and die,
And dying riſe, and riſing with him raiſe
His brethren, ranſom'd with his own dear life.
So heavenly love ſhall outdo helliſh hate,
Giving to death, and dying to redeem,

Ver. 287. *As in him periſh all men*, &c.] 1 *Cor.* xv. 22. "As in Adam all die, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive." NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,*] Milton's ſyſtem of divinity taught not only that Man was redeemed, but likewiſe that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore, ſignifying only redemption in a vague uncertain ſenſe, but imperfectly repreſents his ſyſtem; ſo imperfectly, that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expreſſes it by *giving to death*, that is giving himſelf to death; ſo that the ſenſe of the line fully expreſſes Milton's notion, *Heavenly love*

So dearly to redeem what helliſh hate
So eaſily deſtroy'd, and ſtill deſtroys
In thoſe who, when they may, accept not grace.
Nor ſhalt thou, by deſcending to aſſume
Man's nature, leſſen or degrade thine own.
Becauſe thou haſt, though thron'd in higheſt bliſs
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all, to ſave
A world from utter loſs, and haſt been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God,
Found worthieſt to be ſo by being good,
Far more than great or high; becauſe in thee

gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them. WARBURTON.

St. *Matt.* xx. 28. "The Son of Man came—to *give* his *life* a *ranſom* for many." GILLIES.

Ver. 301. ——————— *and* ſtill deſtroys] Dr. Bentley objects to *ſtill deſtroys*, that this ſpeech is before Adam's fall; and therefore he thinks that Milton gave it "and *will deſtroy*." But there are many paſſages in theſe ſpeeches of God and Meſſiah, where the Fall is ſpoken of as a thing paſt; perhaps, becauſe all things, even future ones, are preſent to the Divine Mind. Thus, in v. 151.

"Thy creature *late* ſo lov'd:"

And in v. 181.

——————— "that he may know how frail
"His *fall'n* condition is:"——

And yet theſe two paſſages, with others of the ſame kind, Dr. Bentley has ſuffered to ſtand uncenſured. PEARCE.

Ver. 306. *Equal to God, and equally enjoying*
God-like fruition,] This deſerves notice, as an inſtance of Milton's orthodoxy, with relation to the divinity of God the Son. NEWTON.

Love hath abounded more than glory abounds,
Therefore thy humiliation ſhall exalt
With thee thy manhood alſo to this throne;
Here ſhalt thou ſit incarnate, here ſhalt reign
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
Anointed univerſal King; all power
I give thee; reign for ever, and aſſume
Thy merits; under thee, as head ſupreme,
Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce:
All knees to thee ſhall bow, of them that bide
In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
When thou, attended glorioufly from Heaven,
Shalt in the ſky appear, and from thee ſend
The ſummoning Arch-Angels to proclaim
Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds,

Ver. 317. ——————— *all power*
I give thee;] *Matt.* xxviii. 18. "All power is given unto me." NEWTON.

Ver. 318. ——————— *and aſſume*
Thy merits;] Imitated from Horace, *Od.* III. xxx. 14. "*Sume ſuperbiam quæſitam meritis;*" but adapted to the Divine Perſon to whom it is ſpoken. NEWTON.

Ver. 321. *All knees ſhall bow,* &c.] See *Philipp.* ii. 10. NEWTON.

Ver. 323. *When thou, attended glorioufly from Heaven,* &c.] See St. *Matt.* xxv. 30, 31, 32. HUME.

Ver. 325. *The ſummoning Arch-Angels*] 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 16. "For the Lord himſelf ſhall deſcend from Heaven with a ſhout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God." HUME.

The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all paſt ages, to the general doom
Shall haſten; ſuch a peal ſhall rouſe their ſleep.
Then, all thy ſaints aſſembled, thou ſhalt judge
Bad men and Angels; they, arraign'd, ſhall ſink
Beneath thy ſentence; Hell, her numbers full,
Thenceforth ſhall be for ever ſhut. Mean while
The world ſhall burn, and from her aſhes ſpring
New Heaven and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell,
And, after all their tribulations long,

Ver. 327. ——— *the cited dead*] *Rev.* xx. 11. "And I ſaw the *dead*, ſmall and great, *ſtand before God.*" HUME.

Ver. 329. ——— *ſuch a peal ſhall rouſe their ſleep.*] 1 *Cor.* xv. 51. "We ſhall not all *ſleep*, but we ſhall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, *at the laſt trump.*"

Ver. 334. *The world ſhall burn*, &c.] See II *Pet.* iii. 12, 13. NEWTON.

Ver. 335. *New Heaven and Earth*,] Dr. Bentley reads *Heavens*; for (he ſays) *Heaven* is the ſeat of God, *Heavens* are the viſible ones, all not beyond the fixed ſtars: But I find Milton almoſt always uſing the known Jewiſh phraſe of *Heaven and Earth* to expreſs the whole creation by. See inſtances in B. vii. 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. B. viii. 15, 70. B. x. 638, 647. and B. xi. 66, 901. PEARCE.

We may add too, that though St. Peter ſays *new Heavens and a new Earth*, yet St. John, *Rev.* xxi. 1. makes uſe of the phraſe of *Heaven and Earth*. "And I ſaw a new *Heaven and* a new *Earth*, for the firſt *Heaven* and the firſt *Earth* were paſſed away." NEWTON.

See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.
Then thou thy regal ſcepter ſhalt lay by,
For regal ſcepter then no more ſhall need,
God ſhall be all in all. But, all ye Gods,
Adore him, who to compaſs all this dies;
Adore the Son, and honour him as me.
No ſooner had the Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of Angels, with a ſhout

Ver. 337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,*] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 9.

——— " toto ſurget gens aurea mundo." HUME.

Ver. 341. *God ſhall be all in all.*] According to 1 *Cor.* xv. 28. " And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that *God may be all in all.*" HUME.

Ibid. ——— *But, all ye* Gods,
Adore him,] Pſalm xcvii. 7. " Worſhip him, all ye *Gods,*" that is, all ye *Angels:* And ſo it is tranſlated by the Seventy, and ſo cited by St. Paul, *Heb.* i. 6. " And let all the *Angels* of God worſhip him." NEWTON.

Ver. 343. *Adore the Son, and honour him as me.*] *John* v. 23. NEWTON.

Ver. 345. *The multitude of Angels,* &c.] The conſtruction is this; *All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with a ſhout loud as* &c. *Heaven rung* &c. where the firſt words are put in the ablative caſe abſolutely. PEARCE.

I would make out the ſyntax, by ſupplying the verb *ſhouted* or *received*; ſo that the full conſtruction will be, *The Angels ſhouted with a ſhout*, or *received*, viz. what God had ſaid, *with a ſhout loud as from numbers without number* &c.—The ablative abſolute, in the firſt place, would be making the connection too remote, when the natural connection is with the word immediately preceding, viz. *voices*; ſo that the conſtruction is, *voices uttering joy*. And, ſecondly, the ſenſe is better, if we follow

Loud as from numbers without number, ſweet
As from bleſt voices, uttering joy, Heaven rung
With jubilee, and loud Hoſannas fill'd
The eternal regions: Lowly reverent
Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
With ſolemn adoration down they caſt
Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;
Immortal amarant, a flower which once
In Paradiſe, faſt by the tree of life,
Began to bloom; but ſoon for man's offence
To Heaven remov'd, where firſt it grew, there grows,

the natural connection, as *uttering joy* accounts ſo well for the ſweetneſs of the voices. I therefore think it is better to ſuppoſe, that Milton, in imitation of his great model Homer, intended to vary his ſtyle, and make it more poetical, by an anomalous conſtruction, but ſuch as does not at all obſcure the ſenſe.

LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 351. ——————— *down they caſt*
Their crowns] So they are repreſented, *Rev.* iv. 10. NEWTON.

Ver. 353. *Immortal amarant,*] A flower of a purple velvet colour, which, though gathered, keeps its beauty; and, when all other flowers fade, recovers its luſtre by being ſprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, lib. 21. c. 11. Milton ſeems to have taken this hint from 1 *Pet.* i. 4. "To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that *fadeth not away*, ἀμαράντινον;" and v. 4. "Ye ſhall receive a crown of glory that *fadeth not away*, ἀμαράντινον:" Both relating to the name of his everlaſting *amarant*, which he has finely ſet near the tree of life. "*Amarantus* flos, ſymbolum eſt *immortalitatis*." Clem. Alexandr.

HUME.

And flowers aloft ſhading the fount of life,
And where the river of bliſs through midſt of Heaven
Rolls o'er Elyſian flowers her amber ſtream;

Ver. 357. ——————— *the fount of life*, &c.] The abundant happineſs, and the immortal joys of Heaven, are in Scripture generally expreſſed by *the fountain of life*, and *rivers of pleaſure*. See *Pſalm* xxxvi. 8, 9; *Rev.* vii. 17; and *Rev.* xxii. 1. HUME.

Ver. 359. *Rolls o'er* Elyſian flowers *her amber ſtream;*] Dr. Bentley reads "Rolls o'er *relucent gems* &c." becauſe (he ſays) it is not well conceived that *flowers* grow at the bottom of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Milton's words do not neceſſarily imply ſo much; the river might only ſometimes *roll over* them, to water them. And yet (ſays Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclined to think, that the poet here by *over* means *through* or *among*. So Mr. Jortin underſtands *Rolls o'er* for *rolls through* or *by*; and obſerves that Horace uſes the verb *prætervire* in much the ſame manner, *Od.* IV. vii. 3.

——— "et decreſcentia ripas
"Flumina prætereunt,"

roll by and within their banks. But if we underſtand the paſſage as it is expreſſed, there is no kind of abſurdity in it; for we frequently ſee graſs, and weeds, and flowers, growing under water: And we may therefore ſuppoſe the fineſt flowers to grow at the bottom of the *river of bliſs*, or rather the river to *roll over* them ſometimes, to water them. The author ſeems to intend much the ſame thing that he has expreſſed in B. iv. 240, where, ſpeaking of the brooks in Paradiſe, he ſays they

"Ran nectar, viſiting each plant, and fed
"Flowers worthy of Paradiſe."

And as there they are flowers *worthy of Paradiſe*, ſo here they are worthy of *Elyſium*, the region of the Bleſſed: and he makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion in *L'Allegro*,

"From golden ſlumber on a bed
"Of heap'd *Elyſian flowers*."

With theſe that never fade the Spirits elect
Bind their reſplendent locks inwreath'd with beams;
Now in looſe garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement, that like a ſea of jaſper ſhone,
Impurpled with celeſtial roſes ſmil'd.
Then, crown'd again, their golden harps they took,

And then as to his calling it *amber ſtream*, it is only on account of its clearneſs and tranſparency, and not at all on account of its colour, that he compares it to amber. The clearneſs of amber was proverbial among the Ancients; Callimachus, in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has αλίκλυτον ὕδωρ; and, in like manner, Virgil ſays of a river, *Georg.* iii. 522.

" Purior *electro* campum petit amnis." NEWTON.

Ver. 360. *With theſe that never fade*] " With theſe *flowers*," as Dr. Newton rightly ſuppoſes; not, " with theſe *crowns*," according to Dr. Pearce, or, " with *this amarant*," according to Dr. Bentley. Thus Drummond ſpeaks of Heaven, *Poems* 1616. Part ſecond.

" But there *flowrs do not fade*, trees grow not olde."

Ver. 363. ——— *like a ſea of jaſper ſhone*,] The *jaſper* caſts divers colours, and the green (the moſt eſteemed) has moſt *ſimilitude to the ſea*. Ruæ. de Gem. l. 2. c. 1. HUME.

Ver. 364. Impurpled *with celeſtial roſes ſmil'd*.] A word very familiar with Spenſer, from the Italian *imporporato*. *Faery Qu.* iii. vii. 16.

" Oft from the foreſt wildings he did bring,
" Whoſe ſides *impurpled* were with ſmiling red."

Marino *Ad.* cant. iv. ſt. 291.

" L'Hore ſpogliando de' lor fregi i prati
" Tutto di roſe *imporporato* il Cielo." THYER.

Ver. 365. ——— *their golden harps they took*,] *Rev.* v. 8. " Having every one of them *harps*, and golden vials full of odours." GILLIES.

Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their ſide
Like quivers hung, and with preamble ſweet
Of charming ſymphony they introduce
Their ſacred ſong, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, ſuch concord is in Heaven.
Thee, Father, firſt they ſung Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyſelf inviſible
Amidſt the glorious brightneſs where thou ſitſt
Thron'd inacceſſible, but when thou ſhad'ſt

Ver. 369. ——— *and* waken *raptures high*;] Mr. Wakefield has noticed the obligation of Gray to this expreſſion, in his *Elegy*;

"Or *wak'd* to extaſy the living lyre;"

as alſo the original phraſe in Lucretius, ii. 412.

——"Muſæa mele, per chordas organici quæ
"Mobilibus digitis *expergefacta* figurant."

Ver. 372. *Thee, Father, firſt they ſung* &c.] This hymn ſeems to be compoſed ſomewhat in the ſpirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the 8th book of the Æneid: But is as much ſuperiour as the ſubject of the one tranſcends that of the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. *Thron'd inacceſſible*, but *when thou ſhad'ſt*] The word *but* here is the ſame as *except*, *unleſs*; inacceſſible *but* when thou ſhad'ſt, that is, then only acceſſible, when thou ſhad'ſt &c. Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid ſays of Phœbus when his ſon Phaëton came to him, *Met.* ii. 39.

——"circum caput omne micantes
"Depoſuit radios, propiúſque accedere juſſit." PEARCE.

I rather conclude that theſe ideas were ſuggeſted by the 33d chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 18, and the following paſſage which ends thus, "*Thou ſhalt ſee my back parts, but my face ſhall not be ſeen.*" GREENWOOD.

The full blaze of thy beams, and, through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant ſhrine,
Dark with exceſſive bright thy ſkirts appear, 380

Ver. 380. *Dark with exceſſive bright thy ſkirts appear,*] Milton has the ſame thought of darkneſs occaſioned by glory, B. v. 599. "*Brightneſs had made inviſible.*" This alſo explains his meaning here: The exceſs of brightneſs had the effect of darkneſs, inviſibility. What an idea of glory! The ſkirts only not to be looked on by the beings neareſt to God, but when doubly or trebly ſhaded by a cloud and both wings. What then is the full blaze! RICHARDSON.

In like manner Taſſo, deſcribing the Almighty in Heaven, c. ix. ſt. 57.

"Quivi ci coſi nel ſuo ſplendor s' involve,
"Che o' abbaglian la viſta anco i più degni."

The ſame thought is in Spenſer's *Hymn* of Heavenly Beauty, but more languidly expreſſed:

"With the great glory of that wondrous light
"His throne is all encompaſſed around,
"*And hid in his own brightneſs* from the ſight
"Of all that look thereon &c." THYER.

Milton's idea is not only poetical in an high degree, but ſtrictly and philoſophically juſt. Extreme light, by overcoming the organs of ſight, obliterates all objects, ſo as in its effect exactly to reſemble darkneſs. After looking for ſome time at the ſun, two black ſpots, the impreſſion which it leaves, ſeem to dance before our eyes. Thus are two ideas, as oppoſite as can be imagined, reconciled to the extremes of both; and both, in ſpite of their oppoſite nature, brought to concur in producing the ſublime. BURKE.

Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, is of opinion, that Milton, in this ſublime addreſs to the Father, has been indebted to the following paſſages in Marino's *Geruſalemme Diſtrutta*, c. vii. ſt. 4.

"Ma quel ciel d' ogni ciel del gran monarca
"Palagio inacceſſibile, ed aſcoſo

Yet dazzle Heaven, that brighteſt Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
Thee next they ſang of all creation firſt,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In whoſe conſpicuous countenance, without cloud
Made viſible, the Almighty Father ſhines,
Whom elſe no creature can behold; on thee
Impreſs'd the effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit reſts.
He Heaven of Heavens and all the Powers therein
By thee created; and by thee threw down
The aſpiring Dominations: Thou that day

" Tranſcende i ſenſi, gl' intelletti eccede,
" Sol vi giunge a gran pena occhio di fede."

And ſt. 9.

" Dentro gli abiſſi d' una luce denſa,
" Staſſi il gran padre in ſe beato a pieno,
" Dalla fontana di teſori immenſa,
" E dell' immenſo incomprenſibil ſeno
" Oceano di gloria egli diſpenſa."

Ver. 382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid, *Met.* ii. 22.

" Conſiſtitque procul, neque enim propiora ferebat
" Lumina ——" NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *but with both wings veil their eyes.*] So they are repreſented in Iſaiah's viſion of the throne of God, ch. vi. 2. HUME.

Ver. 383. ——— *of all creation firſt,*] So, in *Col.* i. 15. " The firſt born of every creature," or *of all creation,* πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως: And *Rev.* iii. 14. " The beginning of the " creation of God." NEWTON.

Ver. 387. *Whom elſe no creature can behold;*] No creature can otherwiſe behold the Father but in and through the Son. See *John* i. 18, and xiv. 9. NEWTON.

Thy Father's dreadful thunder didſt not ſpare,
Nor ſtop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that ſhook
Heaven's everlaſting frame, while o'er the necks
Thou drov'ſt of warring Angels diſarray'd.
Back from purſuit thy Powers with loud acclaim
Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
Not ſo on Man: Him through their malice fall'n,
Father of mercy and grace, thou didſt not doom
So ſtrictly, but much more to pity incline:
No ſooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
So ſtrictly, but much more to pity inclin'd,
He to appeaſe thy wrath, and end the ſtrife

Ver. 394. *Nor ſtop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that ſhook Heaven's everlaſting frame,*] Fairfax's Taſſo, B. ii. ſt. 91.

" Againe to *ſhake heav'n's everlaſting frame.*"

Ver. 398. *Thee only extoll'd,*] We muſt not underſtand it thus, Thy Powers returning from purſuit extoll'd, &c. but, Thy Powers extoll'd thee returning from purſuit, and *thee only*; for he was the *ſole victor*, all the reſt *ſtood ſilent eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts*, B. vi. 880, &c. So perfectly does this hymn of the good Angels agree with the account given by Raphael in B. vi. And whenever mention is made of the good Angels joining in the purſuit, it is by the evil Angels, the reaſon of which ſee before in the note upon B. i. 169. NEWTON.

Ver. 405. *So ſtrictly, but much more to pity inclin'd,*] A repetition in the manner of Homer, who often uſes the ſame verſes and words, in which commands were given, or meſſages ſent; as ſuppoſing it not poſſible to change them for better. HUME.

Ver. 406. *He to appeaſe thy wrath,*] As an ingenious perſon obſerves, *than*, or *but*, is underſtood before *He*, to complete the ſenſe. NEWTON.

Of mercy and juſtice in thy face diſcern'd,
Regardleſs of the bliſs wherein he ſat
Second to thee, offer'd himſelf to die
For Man's offence. O unexampled love,
Love no where to be found leſs than Divine!
Hail, Son of God, Saviour of Men! Thy name
Shall be the copious matter of my ſong
Henceforth, and never ſhall my harp thy praiſe
Forget, nor from thy Father's praiſe disjoin.

Thus they in Heaven, above the ſtarry ſphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning ſpent.
Mean while upon the firm opacous globe
Of this round world, whoſe firſt convex divides
The luminous inferiour orbs, enclos'd
From Chaos, and the inroad of Darkneſs old,
Satan alighted walks: A globe far off
It ſeem'd, now ſeems a boundleſs continent

Ver. 411. *Love no where to be found leſs than Divine!*] Barrow's lines on this ſubject, in his little poem on Paradiſe Loſt, are beautiful:

"Et ſine ſine Chaos, et ſine ſine Deus;
"Et ſine ſine magis, ſi quid magis eſt ſine ſine,
"In Chriſto erga homines conciliatus amor."

GILLIES.

Ver. 412. *Hail, Son of God,*] So, in Virgil's concluſion of the hymn to Hercules, *Æn.* viii. 301.

"Salve, vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis."

NEWTON.

The concluſion of Milton's hymn, is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promiſe to return in future hymns. RICHARDSON.

Dark, waſte, and wild, under the frown of Night
Starleſs expos'd, and ever-threatening ſtorms
Of Chaos bluſtering round, inclement ſky;
Save on that ſide which from the wall of Heaven,
Though diſtant far, ſome ſmall reflection gains
Of glimmering air leſs vex'd with tempeſt loud:
Here walk'd the Fiend at large in ſpacious field.
As when a vultur on Imaus bred,
Whoſe ſnowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Diſlodging from a region ſcarce of prey
To gorge the fleſh of lambs or yeanling kids,
On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the ſprings
Of Ganges or Hydaſpes, Indian ſtreams;

Ver. 431. *As when a vultur* &c.] This ſimile is very appoſite and lively, and correſponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from Hell to Earth, in order to deſtroy mankind, but lighting firſt on the bare convex of this world's outermoſt orb, *a ſea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in queſt of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-yeaned, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and ſtreams of India; but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a ſea of land* too; the country being ſo ſmooth and open that carriages were driven (as travellers report) with ſails and wind. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *Imaus*] *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Aſia; its name ſignifies *ſnowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, lib. 6. cap. 21. "incolarum lingua *nivoſum* ſignificante;" and therefore it is ſaid here, *whoſe ſnowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the eaſt of the Weſtern Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of paſturage; their herds of cattle, and what they take in hunting, being their principal ſubſiſtence. NEWTON.

But in his way lights on the barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chineſes drive
With ſails and wind their cany waggons light:

Ver. 438. —— *Sericana, where Chineſes drive*
With ſails and wind their cany waggons light:] *Sericana* is a region betwixt China to the eaſt, and the mountain Imaus to the weſt: And, what Milton ſays of the *Chineſes*, he ſeems to have taken from Heylin's *Coſmography*, p. 867, where it is ſaid, "Agreeable unto the obſervation of modern writers, the country is ſo plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with ſails, as ordinarily as drawn with horſes, in theſe parts." Our author ſuppoſes theſe carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing ſomewhat more probable. It may be thought the leſs incredible, as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted ſomething of the ſame nature, and could really drive his machine without horſes by the help of wind and ſail, upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not anſwer upon the road; it did well enough on the plain, but he could not make it go up hill. NEWTON.

Other attempts of the ſame nature have been made in this country; but, England having "this variety" from Sericana "of pleaſure ſituate in HILL and *dale*," they have not been found, as Dr. Newton obſerves, to *anſwer*.

Sailing Coaches are alſo ſaid to have been invented by Stevenius in the Netherlands, in the ſeventeenth century. See Hakewill's Apologie of the Power and Providence of God, 2d edit. 1630, ad fin. Grotius has written a copy of verſes on the invention.

Milton did not merely *ſuppoſe* the waggons of the Chineſe to be made of *cane*; but he was correct. Sir George Staunton, who ſo lately viſited China, thus mentions the *old* cuſtom, which "is ſtill in ſome degree retained.—The *cany waggons* are ſmall carts, or double barrows, of *bamboo*, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progreſs of ſuch a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harneſſed to it, while another keeps it ſteady from behind, beſide aſſiſting in puſhing it forward. The *ſail*, when the wind is favourable,

So, on this windy ſea of land, the Fiend
Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey;
Alone, for other creature in this place,
Living or lifeleſs, to be found was none;
None yet, but ſtore hereafter from the earth
Up hither like aëreal vapours flew
Of all things tranſitory and vain, when ſin
With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Built their fond hopes of glory or laſting fame,
Or happineſs in this or the other life;
All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
Of painful ſuperſtition and blind zeal,
Nought ſeeking but the praiſe of men, here find
Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
All the unaccompliſh'd works of Nature's hand,
Abortive, monſtrous, or unkindly mix'd,

ſaves the labour of the former of theſe two men. It conſiſts only of a mat, fixed between two poles riſing from the oppoſite ſides of the cart. This ſimple contrivance can only be of uſe when the cart is intended to run before the wind; and was probably the reſource of an individual, who wiſhed to have no companion of his labour and partner of his profits, or who happened not to meet one." Embaſſy to China, 1797, vol. ii. p. 243. 8vo. edit.

Van Braam, ſecond in the Dutch Embaſſy to *China* in 1794 and 1795, relates, that he ſaw, in that country, "a WHOLE FLEET *of wheel-barrows!* all *under ſail*; having a little maſt very neatly inſerted in a hole or ſtep cut in the forepart of the barrow, &c." Tranſlation of the Account of the Embaſſy, Lond. 1798, vol. i. p. 152.

Diſſolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
Till final diſſolution, wander here;
Not in the neighbouring moon, as ſome have dream'd;
Thoſe argent fields more likely habitants,
Tranſlated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt the angelical and human kind.
Hither of ill-join'd ſons and daughters born
Firſt from the ancient world thoſe giants came
With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
The builders next of Babel on the plain

Ver. 457. ——————— *and* in vain,] To wander *in vain*, as commonly underſtood, would be a weak expreſſion; but it has the force of the Greek ἄντως, the Latin *fruſtrà*, *temerè*, *fortuitò*, *nullo conſilio*, at random. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 459. *Not in the neighbouring moon, as ſome have dream'd*;] He means particularly Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. ſt. 70, &c.; whoſe enumeration of things loſt upon earth, and treaſured up in the moon, Pope has finely adapted in the fifth canto of his *Rape of the Lock*: And indeed, the notion ſeems to be fitter for a mock-heroick poem, than for the true epick. NEWTON.

Ver. 463. *Hither of ill-joined ſons and daughters born* &c.] He means *the ſons of God* ill-join'd with *the daughters of men*, alluding to that text of Scripture, *Gen.* vi. 4. "There were giants in the earth in thoſe days; and alſo after that, when the ſons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the ſame became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown:" where, by *the ſons of God*, ſome Fathers and Commentators have underſtood *Angels*, as if the Angels had been enamoured and married to women: but the true meaning is, that the poſterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worſhippers of the true God, and therefore called *the ſons of God*, intermarried with the idolatrous poſterity of wicked Cain.

NEWTON.

Of Sennaar, and ſtill with vain deſign,
New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:
Others came ſingle; he, who to be deem'd
A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,
Empedocles; and he, who, to enjoy
Plato's Elyſium, leap'd into the ſea,
Cleombrotus; and many more too long,

Ver. 467. *Of Sennaar,*] Or *Shinar;* for they are both the ſame name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate, as he frequently does in the names of places.

NEWTON.

Ver. 471. *Empedocles;*] The ſcholar of Pythagoras, a poet and philoſopher of Sicily, who, ſtealing one night from his followers, threw himſelf into Ætna; that, being no where to be found, he might be eſteemed to be a god, and to be taken up into heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, diſcovered his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. See Horace, *De Art. Poet.* v. 464.

HUME.

Empedocles occurs, among other Sages, in Dante's *Limbo, Inf.* c. iv. 138; which Milton probably remembered.

Ver. 473. *Cleombrotus;*] A youth of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece, who, having read over Plato's book of the ſoul's immortality and happineſs in another life, was ſo raviſhed with the account of it, that he leaped from a high wall into the ſea, that he might immediately enjoy it. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *and many more too long,*] It ſeems as if a line were, by miſtake of the printer, left out here; for, as Dr. Bentley obſerves, this phraſe is deficiently expreſſed. Beſides, Milton had been mentioning thoſe who *came ſingle*; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of *embryos, idiots, eremites,* and *friars,* without ſome other verſe interpoſed, which ſhould finiſh the account of thoſe who *came ſingle,* and contain a verb for the nominative caſes *embryos,* and *idiots;* which at preſent is wanting. PEARCE.

Embryos, and idiots, eremites, and friars
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.
Here pilgrims roam, that ſtray'd ſo far to ſeek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;
And they, who to be ſure of Paradiſe,

A very ingenious perſon queſtions whether Milton, by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence, did not deſign to expreſs his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by huſtling it all together in this diſorder and confuſion. There is the ſame artful negligence in *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 182, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 475. *White, black, and gray,*] The Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciſcans, who are thus diſtinguiſhed by Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xiv. ſt. 68.

——— " Frati, *bianchi, neri,* e *bigi.*"

Again, c. xliii. ſt. 175.

——— " I *bigi,* i *bianchi,* i *neri* frati."

Ver. 478. This verſe and the two following allude to a ridiculous opinion, that obtained in the dark ages of Popery; that, at the time of death, to be clothed in a friar's habit, was an infallible road to heaven. This fact is taken notice of by the anonymous author of *Paſquine in a Traunce,* 1584, fol. 15. " So grew in the mindes of the ſilly ſimple ſoules, this wicked opinion of theſe monſtrous-marked friers, that to *weare their weede,* or to go clothed in that colour, was good againſt the quartane ague, and other diſeaſes; and (that worſe is) that, to be *buried in that habit,* was the *very right way to go to heaven.*"

We further meet with a piece of hiſtory in Weever's *Diſcourſe of Funeral Monuments,* 1631, p. 158, which ſets this fact in a very clear light. " They [the friars] were wondrouſly enriched by the burials of great perſonages; for, in regard of burial, Abbeyes were moſt commonly preferred before other Churches whatſoever: And he that was *buried* therein in a *friers habite,* if you will believe it, never came into hell."

Buchanan, in his *Franciſcanus,* expoſes this fact in a pleaſing

Dying, put on the weeds of Dominick,
Or in Franciſcan think to paſs diſguis'd;
They paſs the planets ſeven, and paſs the fix'd,
And that cryſtalline ſphere whoſe balance weighs

ſatire. And Dante places, in his *Inferno*, the Conte da monte feltro, notwithſtanding his *having taken the habit of a Franciſcan.*
BOWLE.

This ridiculous indulgence, which the Orders only of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis* ſeem to diſpenſe, is alſo well expoſed in Brevint's "*Saul and Samuel at Endor*," 1674, chap. xiv.

Ver. 482. *And that cryſtalline ſphere* &c.] He ſpeaks here according to the ancient aſtronomy, adopted and improved by Ptolemy. *They paſs the planets ſeven*, our planetary or ſolar ſyſtem, *and* beyond this *paſs the fix'd*, the firmament or ſphere of the fix'd ſtars, *and* beyond this *that cryſtalline ſphere*, the cryſtalline Heaven, clear as cryſtal, to which the Ptolemaicks attributed a ſort of libration or ſhaking (the *trepidation* ſo much talked of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the ſtars, *and* beyond this *that firſt mov'd*, the primum mobile, the ſphere which was both the firſt moved and the firſt mover, communicating its motion to all the lower ſpheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the ſeat of God and the Angels.

This paſſage may receive ſome farther light and illuſtration from another of the ſame nature in Taſſo, where he deſcribes the deſcent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this cryſtalline and all the other ſpheres, but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, cant. ix. ſt. 60, 61.

" Paſſa il foco, e la luce, &c.

60.

" He paſs'd the light, and ſhining fire aſſign'd
" The glorious ſeat of his ſelected crew,
" The mover firſt, and circle cryſtalline,
" The firmament where fixed ſtars all ſhine.

The trepidation talk'd, and that firſt mov'd;
And now Saint Peter at Heaven's wicket ſeems
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
Of Heaven's aſcent they lift their feet, when lo
A violent croſs wind from either coaſt
Blows them tranſverſe, ten thouſand leagues awry
Into the devious air: Then might ye ſee
Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, toſt
And flutter'd into rags; then reliques, beads,
Indulgences, diſpenſes, pardons, bulls,
The ſport of winds: All theſe, upwhirl'd aloft,

61.

" Unlike in working then in ſhape and ſhow,
" At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,
" And thoſe untruly errant call'd, I trow,
" Since he errs not who them doth guide and move."
Fairfax.

And when our poet mentions *St. Peter at Heaven's wicket with his keys*, he certainly intends (as Mr. Thyer obſerves) to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romaniſts, that St. Peter and his ſucceſſours are in a particular manner entruſted with the keys of Heaven. And he makes uſe of the low phraſe of *Heaven's wicket*, the better to expoſe the notions of thoſe whom he places here in the Paradiſe of Fools. NEWTON.

Ver. 489. ——————— *Then might* ye ſee] Then might *ye ſee*, is no more than " Then might *be ſeen*." It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers. See Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 676. PEARCE.

So Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 38.

" There might *ye ſee* looſe ſteeds at random run."
BOWLE.

Ver. 493. *The ſport of winds:*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 75.
" *Ludibria ventis.*" HUME.

Fly o'er the backſide of the world far off
Into a Limbo large and broad, ſince call'd
The Paradiſe of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
All this dark globe the Fiend found as he paſs'd,
And long he wander'd, till at laſt a gleam
Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haſte
His travell'd ſteps: far diſtant he deſcries
Aſcending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven a ſtructure high;
At top whereof, but far more rich, appear'd

Ver. 495. *Into a* Limbo *large and broad,*] The *Limbus patrum*, as it is called, is a place that the Schoolmen ſuppoſed to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the ſouls of the patriarchs were detained, and thoſe good men who died before our Saviour's reſurrection. Our author gives the ſame name to his Paradiſe of Fools, and more rationally places it beyond *the backſide of the world.* NEWTON.

Ver. 501. *His* travell'd *ſteps:*] His *tired* ſteps, from the Italian *travagliato.* RICHARDSON.

So, in his *Tractate of Education*, 1673, p. 113. "The interim of unſweating themſelves regularly, and convenient reſt before meat, may, both with profit and delight, be taken up in recreating and compoſing their *travail'd* ſpirits with the ſolemn and divine harmonies of muſick heard or learnt."

Ver. 502. *Aſcending by degrees magnificent*
Up to the wall of Heaven a ſtructure high;] Heaven is locally repreſented with ſimilar brilliancy, in his earlier Poems. See Mr. Warton's note, *In Obit. Præſ. El.* v. 62. He had perhaps been ſtruck with the ſplendid deſcription of the new Jeruſalem, in *Tobit* xiii. 16. "Jeruſalem ſhall be built up with *ſapphires*, and *emeralds*, and *precious ſtones*; thy *walls*, and *towers*, and *battlements*, with pure gold." See alſo *Rev.* xxi. 12. And compare B. ii. 1049.

The work as of a kingly palace-gate,
With frontiſpiece of diamond and gold
Embelliſh'd; thick with ſparkling orient gems
The portal ſhone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by ſhading pencil, drawn.
The ſtairs were ſuch as whereon Jacob ſaw
Angels aſcending and deſcending, bands
Of guardians bright, when he from Eſau fled
To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
Dreaming by night under the open ſky,
And waking cried, *This is the gate of Heaven.*
Each ſtair myſteriouſly was meant, nor ſtood
There always, but drawn up to Heaven ſometimes
Viewleſs; and underneath a bright ſea flow'd

Ver. 507. ——— *with ſparkling* orient gems] So, in Petrarch's *Trionf. della Morte*, cap. ii.

" Di *gemme orientali* incoronata."

And in a *Sonnet*,

" Nè *gemma oriental*, nè forza d' auro."

Yet Dr. Bentley would here ſubſtitute " *ardent*" for " *orient* gems," when the latter word was common, even in our own language, as denoting *ruddy bright*; and the whole phraſe exiſting in the poetry of Milton's favourite, Petrarch.

Ver. 510. *The ſtairs*] The degrees mentioned before, v. 502, *were ſuch as whereon Jacob ſaw* &c.; a compariſon drawn from *Geneſis*, xxviii. 12, 13. NEWTON.

Ver. 513. *To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz*] This paſſage was wrong pointed in all the editions. For there ſhould be no comma after *Luz*: The comma ſhould be after *Padan-Aram*; and *in the field of Luz* ſhould be joined to *dreaming* in the next verſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 518. ——— *and underneath* a bright ſea *flow'd*] The

Of jaſper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
Who after came from earth, ſailing arriv'd
Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake
Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery ſteeds.
The ſtairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by eaſy aſcent, or aggravate
His ſad excluſion from the doors of bliſs:
Direct againſt which open'd from beneath,
Juſt o'er the blifsful ſeat of Paradiſe,
A paſſage down to the Earth, a paſſage wide,
Wider by far than that of after-times
Over mount Sion, and, though that were large,
Over the Promis'd Land to God ſo dear;
By which, to viſit oft thoſe happy tribes,
On high beheſts his Angels to and fro
Paſs'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard

author himſelf explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of *the water above the firmament*. He mentions it again, B. vii. 619. HEYLIN.

Ver. 521. Wafted *by Angels,*] As Lazarus was *carried* by Angels, *Luke* xvi. 22. NEWTON.

Ver. 522. *Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery ſteeds.*] See 2 *Kings*, ii. 11; and note on *Paradiſe Regained*, B. ii. 16, and on *Il Penſ.* v. 40.

Ver. 525. ——————— *the doors of bliſs:*] *Rev.* iv. 1. "After this I looked, and, behold, *a door* was opened *in Heaven.*" See alſo Milton's poem, *In Obitum Præſulis El.* v. 62.

"Donec nitentes ad *fores*
"Ventum eſt *Olympi* ——"

Ver. 534. ——— *and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that, after *regard*, a verſe ſeems to be wanting to deſcribe what *his eye* did *with choice regard*: But it may be

From Paneas, the fount of Jordan's flood,
To Beërſaba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and the Arabian ſhore;
So wide the opening ſeem'd, where bounds were ſet
To darkneſs, ſuch as bound the ocean wave.
Satan from hence, now on the lower ſtair,
That ſcal'd by ſteps of gold to Heaven-gate,
Looks down with wonder at the ſudden view
Of all this world at once. As when a ſcout,
Through dark and deſart ways with peril gone
All night, at laſt by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of ſome high-climbing hill,

underſtood thus; his eye *paſs'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high behefts or commands, and ſurveyed *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the ſame name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its ſource, to *Beërſaba* or Beerſheba, that is, the whole extent of the Promiſed Land from Paneas in the north to Beerſaba in the ſouth, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus expreſſed in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beerſheba*, Dan at the northern and Beerſheba at the ſouthern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas*. NEWTON.

Ver. 538. ——————— *where bounds were ſet*
To darkneſs,] *Job* xxviii. 3. "He ſetteth an end to darkneſs." GILLIES.

Ver. 546. ——————— *of ſome* high-climbing *hill,*] The attribute of the agent given to the ſubject upon which it operates. LORD KAIMES.

So, in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627. c. ii. ſt. 14.

"Upon the Eaſt, from buſhie Needwood's ſide,
"There riſeth vp an *eaſie-climbing* hill."

Which to his eye diſcovers unaware
The goodly proſpect of ſome foreign land
Firſt ſeen, or ſome renown'd metropolis
With glitſtering ſpires and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the riſing ſun gilds with his beams:
Such wonder ſeis'd, though after Heaven ſeen,
The Spirit malign, but much more envy ſeis'd,
At ſight of all this world beheld ſo fair.
Round he ſurveys (and well might, where he ſtood
So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended ſhade,) from eaſtern point
Of Libra to the fleecy ſtar that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantick ſeas
Beyond the horizon; then from pole to pole
He views in breadth, and without longer pauſe
Down right into the world's firſt region throws

Ver. 555. *Round he ſurveys* &c.] He ſurveys the whole creation from eaſt to weſt, and from north to ſouth. But poetry delights to ſay the moſt common things in an uncommon manner.

It is fine, as it is natural, to repreſent Satan taking a view of the world, before he threw himſelf into it. NEWTON.

Ver. 556. ——————— *the circling* canopy
Of night's *extended ſhade,*)] "The *night* began to caſt her dark *canopy* over them." Sidney's *Arcad.* 13th edit, P. 443.

Ver. 562. *Down right into the world's* &c.] Satan, after having ſurveyed the whole creation, immediately *without longer pauſe* throws himſelf into it, and is deſcribed as making two different motions. At firſt he drops down perpendicularly ſome way into it, *down right into the world's firſt region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards *winds his oblique way*, turns and

His flight precipitant, and winds with eaſe
Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongſt innumerable ſtars, that ſhone
Stars diſtant, but nigh hand ſeem'd other worlds;
Or other worlds they ſeem'd, or happy iſles,

winds this way and that, if he might any where eſpy the ſeat of Man; for though in v. 527, it is ſaid that the paſſage was *juſt over Paradiſe*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore, as it was natural for him to do, winds about in ſearch of it *through the pure marble air.* NEWTON.

Ver. 564. *Through the* pure marble *air*] The firſt epithet *pure* determines the ſenſe of the ſecond, and ſhows why the air is compared to *marble*; namely, for its clearneſs and whiteneſs, without any regard to its hardneſs: And the word *marmor*, marble, is derived from a Greek word, μαρμαίρω, that ſignifies to *ſhine* and *gliſter.*

See alſo Shakſpeare, *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii.

"Now, by yon *marble* heaven." NEWTON.

So Drummond, *Poems*, 1616, Part the firſt,

——— "Heaven looks like ſmootheſt *marble.*"

Sandys, in his *Paraphraſe on the Pſalms*, has the following compound, "the *marble-arched* ſkie." Compare Sophocles, *Antigone*, v. 618. Ὀλύμπου μαρμαρόισσαι αἴγλαι.

Ibid. ——— *his* oblique *way*] Perhaps with the accent on the firſt ſyllable of *oblique*, as it frequently is in Drayton. Thus in *Polyolbion*, Song xvi.

"Then in his *óblique* courſe the luſty ſtragling ſtreet."

Ver. 565. ——— *that ſhone*
Stars diſtant,] They appeared, by their ſhining, to be ſtars. It is a Greek expreſſion, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella, preſerved by Diogenes Laertius: "*You ſhone, whilſt living, a morning ſtar; but, dead, you now ſhine Heſperus among the ſhades.*" RICHARDSON.

Like thoſe Heſperian gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales,
Thrice happy iſles; but who dwelt happy there
He ſtaid not to inquire: Above them all
The golden ſun, in ſplendour likeſt Heaven,
Allur'd his eye; thither his courſe he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By center, or eccentrick, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) where the great luminary
Aloof the vulgar conſtellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep diſtance due,
Diſpenſes light from far; they, as they move
Their ſtarry dance in numbers that compute

Ver. 568. *Like thoſe Heſperian gardens:*] See note on *Comus*, v. 981.

Ver. 570. *Thrice happy iſles,*] They were called by the ancients *Inſulæ Fortunatæ*.

Ver. 574. ——————— *(but up or down,*
By center, or eccentrick, hard to tell,
Or longitude,)] Theſe words (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) ſhould be included in a parentheſis, and then the conſtruction of the reſt will be plain and eaſy. Satan had now paſſed the fixed ſtars, and was directing his courſe towards the ſun; but it is hard to tell (ſays the poet) whether his courſe was *up or down*, that is north or ſouth, for ſo *up and down* ſignifies in B. ix. 78, and B. x. 675; the north being uppermoſt in our globes: Or whether it was *by center, or eccentrick*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determined whether the ſun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was by *longitude*, that is, in length eaſt or weſt, as appears from B. iv. 539, and B. vii. 373. NEWTON.

Ver. 580. *In numbers*] That is, in meaſures. RICHARDSON.

Days, months and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
Turn ſwift their various motions, or are turn'd
By his magnetick beam, that gently warms
The univerſe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unſeen,
Shoots inviſible virtue even to the deep;
So wonderouſly was ſet his ſtation bright.
There lands the Fiend, a ſpot like which perhaps
Aſtronomer in the ſun's lucent orb
Through his glaz'd optick tube yet never ſaw.
The place he found beyond expreſſion bright,
Compar'd with aught on earth, metal or ſtone;
Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;

Ver. 585. ——————— *though unſeen,*
Shoots inviſible virtue even to the deep;] The words *though unſeen* relate to *penetration*, and *inviſible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a diſtinct thing from the *penetration* before-mentioned, and which might have been viſible, though the other was not ſo. PEARCE.

Ver. 590. *Through his glaz'd optick tube*] The ſpots in the ſun are viſible with a *teleſcope*: But aſtronomer perhaps never ſaw, through his *glaz'd optick tube*, ſuch a ſpot as Satan now he was in the ſun's orb. The poet mentions this glaſs the oftener, in honour of Galileo, whom he means here by the *aſtronomer*. NEWTON.

Ver. 592. ——————— metal *or ſtone;*] In the firſt editions it is *medal* or ſtone, and Mr. Richardſon juſtifies it, as the repetition of the ſame word immediately after is avoided: but for that very reaſon it appears that this is an errour of the preſs, and that it ought to be read *metal* or ſtone, as both *metal* and *ſtone* are repeated afterwards. NEWTON.

If metal, part ſeem'd gold, part ſilver clear;
If ſtone, carbuncle moſt or chryſolite,
Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that ſhone
In Aaron's breaſt-plate, and a ſtone beſides
Imagin'd rather oft than elſewhere ſeen,
That ſtone, or like to that which here below
Philoſophers in vain ſo long have ſought,
In vain, though by their powerful art they bind
Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound
In various ſhapes old Proteus from the ſea,

Ver. 596. *If ſtone*, carbuncle *moſt or* chryſolite,] See Greene's *Neuer too late*, part 2d, which opens thus: "No ſooner did *Phœbus* burniſh the heauen with his brightnes, and, deckt in a glorious *diademe* of *chryſolites*, had mounted him on his coach to lighten the lampe that maketh Flora beauteous, but the palmer was up, and at his oriſons."

And Shakſpeare deſcribes the *car of Phœbus* as compoſed of *carbuncles*, in *Ant. and Cleopatra*, and in *Cymbeline*.

Ver. 597. ——— *to the twelve that ſhone*] Ruby or topaz *to the twelve*, that is, *and all the reſt, reckoning to the twelve*, that ſhone in Aaron's breaſt-plate. The poet had particularly mentioned ſome of the ſtones, and now he includes all the reſt *to the number twelve*. Such a conciſe manner of ſpeaking is not unuſual with our author. Fenton reads,

"Ruby or topaz, *or* the twelve that ſhone;"

which cannot be ſaid after ſome of the twelve have been already mentioned. NEWTON.

Ver. 604. *In various ſhapes* &c.] Proteus, after he had turned himſelf into various amazing mutations, was fabled by the poets to return at laſt to his proper ſhape, and to anſwer truly all queſtions put to him: Therefore Milton tells us, that the chemiſts drain their various matter, they work upon, through all its mutations, till, purſued through all its latent labyrinths, it aſſume, Proteus-like, its firſt ſhape, and anſwer their expectations: A ſimile well-ſuited to their uncertain ſearch. HUME.

Drain'd through a limbeck to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
The arch-chemick ſun, ſo far from us remote,
Produces, with terreſtrial humour mix'd,
Here in the dark ſo many precious things
Of colour glorious, and effect ſo rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazzled; far and wide his eye commands;
For ſight no obſtacle found here, nor ſhade,
But all ſun-ſhine, as when his beams at noon

Ver. 606. ——————— *regions* here] Milton frequently uſes the word *here*, not meaning thereby a place preſent to him when he is ſpeaking, but that place only which he is then ſpeaking of. PEARCE.

Ver. 608. *The arch-chemick ſun,*] The thought of making the ſun the chief chemiſt, ſeems to be taken from Shakſpeare's *King John*;

"To ſolemnize this day, the glorious *ſun*
"Stays in his courſe, and plays the *alchemiſt*,
"Turning, with ſplendour of his precious eye,
"The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold."

NEWTON.

Andrew Marvell, in his poem, *Eyes and Tears*, has borrowed from his friend Milton:

"So the all-ſeeing *ſun*, each day,
"Diſtils the world with *chemick* ray."

The ſun is diſtinguiſhed with one or two *chemick* titles, in Crollius's *Baſilica Chymica*, p. 209, edit. 1609.

Ver. 616. ——— as *when his beams at noon*
Culminate from the equator, as *they now*
Shot upward ſtill direct,] The firſt *as* is uſed by

Culminate from the equator, as they now
Shot upward ſtill direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body opaque can fall; and the air,
No where ſo clear, ſharpen'd his viſual ray
To objects diſtant far, whereby he ſoon
Saw within ken a glorious Angel ſtand,
The ſame whom John ſaw alſo in the ſun:
His back was turn'd, but not his brightneſs hid;
Of beaming ſunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor leſs his locks behind
Illuſtrious on his ſhoulders fledge with wings
Lay waving round; on ſome great charge employ'd
He ſeem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.

way of ſimilitude, in the ſenſe of *like as*; There was no ſhadow but all ſun-ſhine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from the equator*, that is, are vertical and ſhoot directly from the equator, which is the reaſon why thoſe who live under the equator, under the line, are called Aſcii, and at noon caſt no ſhadows. The other *as* is uſed by way of reaſon, in the ſenſe of *foraſmuch as*; There was no ſhadow but all ſun-ſhine, foraſmuch *as his beams ſhot now directly upward*. NEWTON.

Ver. 622. *Saw within ken*] The ſame expreſſion is in his Proſe-Works, *Eikon.* p. 411. "He pretends to *foreſee within ken*." BOWLE.

The ſame expreſſion occurs in Greene's *Never too late*, part the firſt, 1616.

"I might *ſee in my ken*
"Such a flame as fiereth men."

Ver. 623. *The ſame whom John ſaw alſo in the ſun:*] Rev. xix. 17. "And I ſaw an Angel ſtanding in the ſun."
NEWTON.

Glad was the Spirit impure, as now in hope
To find who might direct his wandering flight
To Paradiſe, the happy ſeat of Man,
His journey's end and our beginning woe.
But firſt he caſts to change his proper ſhape,
Which elſe might work him danger or delay:
And now a ſtripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet ſuch as in his face
Youth ſmil'd celeſtial, and to every limb
Suitable grace diffus'd, ſo well he feign'd;

Ver. 634. *But firſt he* caſts *to change his proper ſhape,*] He *conſiders, contrives:* a metaphor taken, not from the founder's art, as Dr. Warburton ſuppoſed; or from *caſting* the eye *about* every way, as Mr. Richardſon aſſerts; but from aſtrology, according to Mr. Warton; as, "to *caſt* a nativity." See alſo B. xii. 43.

——————— "they *caſt* to build
"A city and tower, whoſe top may reach to heaven."

So, in *Comus*, v. 369.

"To *caſt* the faſhion of uncertain evils."

Ver. 636. ——— *a ſtripling Cherub*] Doctor Newton is certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the poet means a Cherub "*not* of the *prime order* or dignity." He is deſcribing a Cherub in the figure, and with the beauty, of a ſtripling. *Prime* is oppoſed to *ſtripling*. WARTON.

Dr. Newton has noticed Spenſer's deſcription of the young Angel, in the *Faery Queen*, ii. viii. 5, and Taſſo's repreſentation of Gabriel as a ſtripling, when he is ſent to rouſe the Chriſtian army, *Ger. Lib.* c. i. ſt. 13.

But Milton, if he had any preceding writer in view, remembered perhaps the deſcent, and magnificent deſcription, of the heavenly Angel, in the ſecond book of Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, ſt. 96, and 97.

Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
Of many a colour'd plume, ſprinkled with gold;
His habit fit for ſpeed ſuccinct, and held
Before his decent ſteps a ſilver wand.
He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant viſage turn'd,
Admoniſh'd by his ear, and ſtraight was known

Ver. 643. *His* habit *fit for ſpeed* ſuccinct,] If Milton meant that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his uſual manner of repreſenting the Angels; but I rather underſtand it, that the *wings he wore* were his habit, and they were certainly a habit *fit for ſpeed ſuccinct*: But *ſuccinct* I underſtand, with Dr. Pearce, not in its firſt and literal ſenſe, *girded* or *tucked up*; but in the metaphorical ſenſe, *ready* and *prepared*: As Fabius, in *Inſt. Orat.* ii. 2, ſays, "Proni *ſuccinctique* &c." NEWTON.

But this expreſſion, as Mr. Bowle alſo obſerves, is applied to the habit of the Angel by Marino, in the paſſage to which I have juſt referred:

"Fendeſi in due la lieve falda, e queſta
"*Succinta.*"

Mr. Bowle adds from Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xvii. ſt. 52,

"In *abito ſuccinto* era Marfiſa,
"Qual ſi convenne a donna, ed a guerriera."

And from Horace, in the metaphorical ſenſe, *Serm.* II. vi. 107, "*Succinctus* curſitat hoſpes."

Ver. 644. *His* decent *ſteps*] The word *decent*, in its common acceptation in our language, will, I think, ſcarcely come up to what our poet is here deſcribing; and therefore we ought, in juſtice to him, to recur to its Latin original. Hor. *Od.* III. xxvii. 35.

"Antequam turpis macies *decentes*
"Occupet malas." THYER.

The Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the ſeven
Who in God's preſence, neareſt to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heavens, or down to the Earth
Bear his ſwift errands over moiſt and dry,
O'er ſea and land: him Satan thus accoſts.
Uriel, for thou of thoſe ſeven Spirits that ſtand
In ſight of God's high throne, gloriouſly bright,
The firſt art wont his great authentick will
Interpreter through higheſt Heaven to bring,
Where all his ſons thy embaſſy attend;
And here art likelieſt by ſupreme decree
Like honour to obtain, and as his eye
To viſit oft this new creation round;
Unſpeakable deſire to ſee, and know
All theſe his wonderous works, but chiefly Man,
His chief delight and favour, him for whom

Ver. 650. ——————— *and are his eyes*] An expreſſion borrowed from *Zechariah*, iv. 10. "*Thoſe ſeven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro the whole earth.*" The Jews therefore believed there were *ſeven* principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders, as it were, of the heavenly hoſt. See *Tobit*, xii. 15, *Rev.* i. 4, v. 6, and viii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 654. *Uriel*,] His name is derived from two Hebrew words, which ſignify *God is my light*. He is mentioned as a good Angel in the ſecond book of *Eſdras*; and the Jews, and ſome Chriſtians, conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name: And therefore he has, properly, his ſtation in the ſun. NEWTON.

Ver. 664. *His chief* delight *and* favour,] By *delight* is plainly meant, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, not his delight itſelf, but the

All theſe his works ſo wonderous he ordain'd,
Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
Alone thus wandering. Brighteſt Seraph, tell
In which of all theſe ſhining orbs hath Man
His fixed ſeat, or fixed ſeat hath none,
But all theſe ſhining orbs his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with ſecret gaze
Or open admiration him behold,
On whom the great Creator hath beſtow'd
Worlds, and on whom hath all theſe graces pour'd;
That both in him and all things, as is meet,
The univerſal Maker we may praiſe;
Who juſtly hath driven out his rebel foes
To deepeſt Hell, and, to repair that loſs,
Created this new happy race of Men
To ſerve him better: Wiſe are all his ways.
So ſpake the falſe diſſembler unperceiv'd;
For neither Man nor Angel can diſcern

object of his delight; and, by *favour*, the object of his favour. It is only uſing the abſtract for the concrete, as Mr. Upton adds. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* v. 541.

" Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori;"

honori is the honourable perſon, *prælato* which was preferred before him. NEWTON.

Ver. 678. ——— *to repair* that *loſs*,] Tickell reads " to repair *their* loſs," which Fenton and Bentley have followed without any reaſon.

Ver. 682. *For neither Man, nor Angel can diſcern, Hypocriſy*,] This paſſage has been imitated by Lillo, in his *Chriſtian Hero*, A. ii. S. i.

Hypocriſy, the only evil that walks
Inviſible, except to God alone,
By his permiſſive will, through Heaven and Earth:
And oft, though wiſdom wake, ſuſpicion ſleeps
At wiſdom's gate, and to ſimplicity
Reſigns her charge, while goodneſs thinks no ill
Where no ill ſeems: Which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the ſun, and held

" *Hypocriſy*, that with an angel's likeneſs
" May well *deceive the wiſdom of an angel*,
" Shall reinſtate me in his generous heart."

Ver. 683. *Hypocriſy*, &c.] What is ſaid here of hypocriſy is cenſured as a digreſſion, but it ſeems no more than is abſolutely neceſſary; for otherwiſe it might be thought very ſtrange, that the evil Spirit ſhould paſs undiſcovered by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the ſun, and the ſharpeſt-ſighted Spirit in Heaven; and therefore the Poet endeavours to account for it by ſaying, that hypocriſy cannot be diſcerned by Man or Angel, it is inviſible to all but God, &c.: But yet the evil Spirit did not paſs wholly undiſcovered, for, though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found reaſon to ſuſpect him afterwards from his furious geſtures on the mount. NEWTON.

Mr. Hayley is of opinion, that the poet's recollection of his having been deluded by the matchleſs hypocriſy of Cromwell, might have inſpired him with this admirable apology for Uriel.

Ver. 686. *And oft, though wiſdom wake*, &c.] He muſt be very critically ſplenetick indeed, who will not pardon this little digreſſional obſervation. There is not in my opinion a nobler ſentiment, or one more poetically expreſſed, in the whole poem. What great art has the poet ſhown in taking off the dryneſs of a mere moral ſentence, by throwing it into the form of a ſhort and beautiful allegory? THYER.

The ſharpeſt-ſighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impoſtor foul,
In his uprightneſs, anſwer thus return'd.
Fair Angel, thy deſire, which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-maſter, leads to no exceſs
That reaches blame, but rather merits praiſe
The more it ſeems exceſs, that led thee hither
From thy empyreal manſion thus alone,
To witneſs with thine eyes what ſome perhaps,
Contented with report, hear only in Heaven:
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleaſant to know, and worthieſt to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;
But what created mind can comprehend
Their number, or the wiſdom infinite
That brought them forth, but hid their cauſes deep?
I ſaw when at his word the formleſs maſs,
This world's material mould, came to a heap:
Confuſion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood rul'd, ſtood vaſt infinitude confin'd;
Till at his ſecond bidding Darkneſs fled,

Ver. 693. *In his* uprightneſs, *anſwer thus return'd.*] So, in *Job* xxxiii. 3. "*My words* ſhall be of the *uprightneſs* of my heart."

Ver. 704. *Had in remembrance*] *Pſalm* cxi. 4. In the old verſion: "He hath ſo done his marvellous works, that they ought to be *had in remembrance.*" GREENWOOD.

Ver. 712. ——————— Darkneſs *fled,*] *Darkneſs* is here a perſon, as in *L'Allegro*, v. 6. Perhaps he remembered

Light ſhone, and order from diſorder ſprung:
Swift to their ſeveral quarters haſted then
The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quinteſſence of Heaven
Flew upward, ſpirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to ſtars

this perſonification in Heſiod. However, ſee Mr. Warton's note, *L'Alleg.* v. 49.

Ver. 713. ——— *and order from diſorder ſprung:*] So Plato *in Timæo*, Εἰς τάξιν αὐτο ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, which Tully renders in Latin thus, "Id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit." Cic. de Univ. So alſo Philo the Jew after his maſter Plato; Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν ὑσίαν ἄτακτον καὶ συγκεχυμένην ὖσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς, εἰς τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας, καὶ ἐκ συγχύσεως εἰς διάκρισιν ἄγων ὁ κοσμοπλάστης, μορφὴν ἤρξατο. It would be no ſmall pleaſure to the curious reader to compare Uriel's account of the creation, with that in Plato's Timæus. This inſtance plainly ſhows that Milton had that in his eye. THYER.

Ver. 715. *The* cumbrous *elements,*] Even earth and fire are ſo, in compariſon of the ethereal quinteſſence, celeſtial fire, or pure ſpirit. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 716. *And this ethereal quinteſſence of Heaven*] The four elements haſted to their quarters, but this fifth eſſence flew upward. It ſhould be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions: and not *the ethereal quinteſſence*, as it is in Bentley's, Fenton's, and ſome other editions. For the Angel who ſpeaks is in the ſun, and therefore ſays *this*, as the ſun was a part of this ethereal quinteſſence. And this notion our author borrowed from Ariſtotle and others of the ancient philoſophers, who ſuppoſed that, beſides the four elements, there was likewiſe an ethereal quinteſſence or fifth eſſence, out of which the ſtars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, καὶ ἄλλο σῶμα πλεῖον, ἐξ οὗ τὰ θεῖα συνεστάναι· ἀλλοίαν δ' αὐτὴ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι, κυκλοφορικὴν γὰρ: which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Ariſtotle. NEWTON.

Numberleſs, as thou ſeeſt, and how they move;
Each had his place appointed, each his courſe;
The reſt in circuit walls this univerſe.
Look downward on that globe, whoſe hither ſide
With light from hence, though but reflected, ſhines;
That place is Earth, the ſeat of Man; that light
His day, which elſe, as the other hemiſphere,
Night would invade; but there the neighbouring moon
(So call that oppoſite fair ſtar) her aid
Timely interpoſes, and her monthly round
Still ending, ſtill renewing, through mid Heaven,
With borrow'd light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to enlighten the Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That ſpot, to which I point, is Paradiſe,
Adam's abode; thoſe lofty ſhades, his bower.
Thy way thou canſt not miſs, me mine requires.
Thus ſaid, he turn'd; and Satan, bowing low,
As to ſuperiour Spirits is wont in Heaven,

Ver. 719. *Numberleſs,*] Theſe ſtars are *numberleſs as thou ſeeſt* (ſays the Angel) *and* ſeeſt *how they move*; and the reſt of this fifth eſſence, that is not formed into ſtars, ſurrounds and like a wall encloſes the univerſe. Lucret. v. 470.

" Et latè diffuſus in omnes undique partes
" Omnia ſic avido complexu cætera ſepſit."

NEWTON.

Ver. 730. ——— *her countenance* triform] Encreaſing with horns towards the eaſt, decreaſing with horns towards the weſt, and at the full. NEWTON.

Where honour due and reverence none neglects,
Took leave, and toward the coaſt of earth beneath,
Down from the ecliptick, ſped with hop'd ſucceſs,
Throws his ſteep flight in many an aery wheel; 741
Nor ſtaid, till on Niphates' top he lights.

Ver. 741. ——— *in many an aery wheel;*] This ſportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy that he was now ſo near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is ſaid to have been obſerved by the Angel Uriel, afterwards, B. iv. 567,

——— "I deſcrib'd his way
"Bent on all ſpeed, and mark'd *his aery gait.*"

NEWTON.

I do not think, that Milton intended to deſcribe any ſportive motion of Satan's, but only the ſpeedineſs of his flight. It is a manner of expreſſion familiar to the Italians, and, no doubt, he borrowed it from them. To give one inſtance out of many. Arioſto, deſcribing the magician Atlante upon his hippogrif deſcending in great haſte to ſeiſe Bradamante, who was fallen on the ground, uſes theſe terms, *Orl. Fur.* c. iv. ſt. 24.

"Accelerando il volator le penne
"Con larghe ruote in terra a por ſi venne." THYER.

See notes, B. iv. 13.

Ver. 742. ——— *On Niphates' top he lights.*] The poet lands Satan on this mountain, becauſe it borders on Meſopotamia, in which the moſt judicious deſcribers of Paradiſe place it.

HUME.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described; overleaps the bounds; sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation by seducing them to transgress: Then leaves them a while to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel descending on a sunbeam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escaped the deep, and passed at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: Their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel, drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the Ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers; prepares resistance; but, hindered by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

O, For that warning voice, which he, who ſaw
The Apocalypſe, heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to ſecond rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
Woe to the inhabitants on earth! that now,
While time was, our firſt parents had been warn'd
The coming of their ſecret foe, and 'ſcap'd,
Haply ſo 'ſcap'd his mortal ſnare: For now
Satan, now firſt inflam'd with rage, came down,

Ver. 1. *O, for that warning voice, which he, who ſaw*
The Apocalypſe, heard cry in Heaven aloud,] The poet opens this book with a wiſh in the manner of Shakſpeare, "O, for a Muſe of fire &c." Prolog. to *Hen.* v. "O, for a falconer's voice, &c." *Rom. and Jul.* A. ii. S. ii.

And, in order to raiſe the horrour and attention of his reader, he introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth, by wiſhing that the ſame warning voice had been uttered now at Satan's firſt coming, which St. John, who in a viſion ſaw the *Apocalypſe* or *Revelation* of the moſt remarkable events which were to befall the Chriſtian Church to the end of the world, heard when the Dragon was put to ſecond rout, *Rev.* xii. 12. "*Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the ſea; for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.*" NEWTON.

The tempter ere the accuſer of mankind,
To wreak on innocent frail man his loſs
Of that firſt battle, and his flight to Hell:
Yet, not rejoicing in his ſpeed, though bold
Far off and fearleſs, nor with cauſe to boaſt,
Begins his dire attempt; which nigh the birth
Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breaſt,
And like a deviliſh engine back recoils
Upon himſelf; horrour and doubt diſtract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom ſtir
The Hell within him; for within him Hell

Ver. 10. ——————— *the* accuſer *of mankind,*] As he is repreſented in the ſame chapter of the *Revelations*, v. 10. "For the *accuſer* of our brethren is caſt down." NEWTON.

Ver. 13. *Yet, not rejoicing in his ſpeed,*] Does not this confirm what I have obſerved of v. 471 of the preceding Book, and prove that Milton did not intend by it to attribute any *ſportive* motion to Satan for joy that he was near his journey's end?

THYER.

No more than "*but glad that now his ſea ſhould find a ſhore,*" B. ii. 1011, and "*ſped with hop'd ſucceſs,*" B. iii. 740, prove the contrary. Satan was bold *far off and fearleſs;* and, as he drew nearer, was pleaſed with *hop'd ſucceſs:* But, now he is come to earth *to begin his dire attempt*, he does not *rejoice* in it; his heart miſgives him; *horrour and doubt diſtract* him. This is all very natural. NEWTON.

I agree with Mr. Thyer, that Satan's motion, "*in many an airy wheel,*" was intended to denote the agility of his flight, rather than the effect of his joy. So, in the Comedy of *Lingua*, 1607, A. i. S. ult. of Mercury's deſcent:

"Firſt I beheld him *hovering in the aire,*
"And then *down ſtouping, in an hundred gires.*"

Ver. 20. *The Hell within him*; &c.] So, at v. 75.

"Which way I fly is *Hell*; myſelf am *Hell.*"

He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One ſtep, no more than from himſelf, can fly
By change of place: Now conſcience wakes deſpair,
That ſlumber'd; wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what muſt be
Worſe; of worſe deeds worſe ſufferings muſt enſue.
Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view

Mr. Bowle obſerves, that Landino, in his comment on the thirty-fourth canto of Dante's Inferno, ſpeaking of the Devils, ſays, "Sempre portano *ſeco il ſuo inferno.*"

It may be added, that venerable Bede in like manner ſuppoſed the Devils to be never free from torture, however they might be employed: "Ubicunque, vel in aere volitant, vel in terris, aut ſub terris vagantur, ſive detinentur, *ſuarum ſecum ferunt tormenta flammarum.*" Bede has alſo drawn a hell which ſpouts cataracts of fire, and in which the damned feel the varying extremes of heat and cold; he has repreſented Satan plunged into *Tartarus profound*, "quia videret inferos apertos, et Sathanan dimerſum in profundis Tartari;" and he perhaps ſuggeſted, by the account which he makes a ſuffering ſinner relate of himſelf, the circumſtance of *Sin's monſters gnawing her bowels*, "ſurgentéſque duo nequiſſimi ſpiritus, habentes in manibus vomeres, percuſſerunt me, unus in capite, alius in pede: qui videlicet modo *cum magno tormento irrepunt in interiora corporis mei*, móxque, ut ad ſe invicem perveniunt, moriar, et paratis ad rapiendum me dæmonibus, in inferni clauſtra pertrahar." Hiſt. Ecc. lib. v. cap. xiii. ed. Smith. p. 198.

Shákſpeare uſes the ſame expreſſion, as Milton, in *K. John*, A. v. S. vii.

"*Within me* is a *Hell.*"——

See alſo Fairfax's *Taſſo*, c. xii. ſt. 77.

"Swift from myſelf I runne, myſelf I feare,
"Yet ſtill my *Hell within myſelf* I beare."

Lay pleaſant, his griev'd look he fixes ſad;
Sometimes towards Heaven, and the full-blazing ſun,
Which now ſat high in his meridian tower:
Then, much revolving, thus in ſighs began.

O thou, that, with ſurpaſſing glory crown'd,
Look'ſt from thy ſole dominion like the God
Of this new world; at whoſe ſight all the ſtars
Hide their diminiſh'd heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what ſtate
I fell, how glorious once above thy ſphere;
Till pride and worſe ambition threw me down

Ver. 30. ——————— *meridian tower:*] At noon the ſun is lifted up, as in a tower. The metaphor is uſed by Virgil in his *Culex*, v. 41.

" Igneus æthereas jam ſol penetrârat in *arces*."

Spenſer, in his admirable tranſlation of that poem, has followed him punctually:

" The fiery ſun was mounted now on hight
" Up to the heavenly *towers*." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 34. ——————— *at whoſe ſight all the ſtars*
Hide their diminiſh'd heads;] So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* c. iv. ſt. 55.

——————— " Rinaldo doth perceave
" The *ſunne* appeare, and *ſtarres their heads to hide*."
BOWLE.

Pope copies Milton, *Moral Eſſays*, Ep. iii. 282.

" Ye little *ſtars! hide your diminiſh'd* rays."

Ver. 40. *Till pride and* worſe *ambition*] Pride is a kind of exceſſive and vicious ſelf-eſteem, which raiſes men in their own

Warring in Heaven againſt Heaven's matchleſs King:
Ah wherefore! he deſerv'd no ſuch return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his ſervice hard.
What could be leſs than to afford him praiſe,
The eaſieſt recompence, and pay him thanks,
How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
And wrought but malice; lifted up ſo high
I ſdein'd ſubjection, and thought one ſtep higher
Would ſet me higheſt, and in a moment quit

opinions above what is juſt and right: But ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps ſpurs to theſe furious and inordinate deſires that break forth into the moſt execrable acts, to accompliſh their haughty deſigns; which makes our author ſtigmatize ambition as a *worſe* ſin than pride. HUME.

Dr. Bentley reads, "and *curs'd* ambition," becauſe he thinks it hard to ſay whether *pride* or *ambition* is worſe: But Milton ſeems to mean by *pride* the vice conſidered in itſelf, and only as it is the tempter of the proud man; and by *ambition* the vice that carried him to aim at being equal with God: And was not this vice the *worſt* of the two? I obſerve that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in v. 61, and v. 92. PEARCE.

Ver. 44. ——————— *and with his good*
Upbraided *none*;] *James* i. 5. "God—giveth to all men liberally, and *upbraideth* not."

Ver. 50. *I* ſdein'd *ſubjection*,] For *diſdain'd*; an imitation of the Italian *ſdegnare*. HUME.

Spenſer has repeatedly uſed the ſame freedom with our language. Thus alſo Drayton, *Moſes' birth* &c. B. i.

"Which though it *ſdain'd* the pleaſdneſſe to confeſſe."

And Fairfax, *Taſſo*, B. xx. ſt. 128. "Her *ſdeignfull* eies."

The debt immenſe of endleſs gratitude,
So burdenſome ſtill paying, ſtill to owe,
Forgetful what from him I ſtill receiv'd,
And underſtood not that a grateful mind
By owing owes not, but ſtill pays, at once
Indebted and diſcharg'd; what burden then?
O had his powerful deſtiny ordain'd
Me ſome inferiour Angel, I had ſtood
Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd
Ambition. Yet why not? ſome other Power
As great might have aſpir'd, and me, though mean,
Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great
Fell not, but ſtand unſhaken, from within
Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
Hadſt thou the ſame free will and power to ſtand?
Thou hadſt: whom haſt thou then or what to accuſe,
But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?
Be then his love accurs'd, ſince love or hate,
To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
Nay, curs'd be thou; ſince againſt his thy will
Choſe freely what it now ſo juſtly rues.

Ver. 55. *And underſtood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in v. 50, I *ſdein'd* and *thought*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *a grateful mind*
By owing owes not, but ſtill pays,] Satan here has anticipated a ſentence, afterwards uſed by Cicero: "Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retuliſſe."
BENTLEY.

Me miſerable! which way ſhall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite deſpair?
Which way I fly is Hell; myſelf am Hell;
And, in the loweſt deep, a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I ſuffer ſeems a Heaven.
O, then, at laſt relent: Is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left?
None left but by ſubmiſſion; and that word

Ver. 79. *O, then, at laſt relent:*] There is no fault to be found with this reading, but I am ſometimes inclined to think that the author might have given it

" O then at laſt *repent:*

becauſe of what follows,

——————— " Is there no place
" Left for *repentance,*"

and again, ver. 93.

" But ſay I could *repent,* &c."

And it is not improbable, that he had Shakſpeare in his thoughts, *Hamlet* A. iii. S. iii.

" Try, what repentance: what can it not?
" Yet what can it, when one cannot repent?"

Or, if we retain the word *relent,* we may ſuppoſe that Satan could not at firſt bring himſelf to ſay *repent,* and therefore makes uſe of the ſofter term *relent.* NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *is there no place*
Left for repentance,] *Heb.* xii. 17. " Afterward, when he would have inherited the bleſſing, he was rejected: for he found *no place of repentance.*" GILLIES.

See alſo *Wiſdom,* xii. 10. " Thou gaveſt them *place of repentance.*"

Ver. 81. ——————— *and that word*
Diſdain forbids me,] Diſdain forbids me that word *ſubmiſſion.* BENTLEY.

Diſdain forbids me, and my dread of ſhame
Among the Spirits beneath, whom I ſeduc'd
With other promiſes and other vaunts
Than to ſubmit, boaſting I could ſubdue
The Omnipotent. Ay me! they little know
How dearly I abide that boaſt ſo vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
With diadem and ſcepter high advanc'd,
The lower ſtill I fall, only ſupreme
In miſery: Such joy ambition finds.
But ſay I could repent, and could obtain,
By act of grace, my former ſtate; how ſoon
Would highth recall high thoughts, how ſoon unſay
What feign'd ſubmiſſion ſwore? Eaſe would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
For never can true reconcilement grow,
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd ſo deep:
Which would but lead me to a worſe relapſe
And heavier fall: ſo ſhould I purchaſe dear
Short intermiſſion bought with double ſmart.
This knows my puniſher; therefore as far
From granting he, as I from begging peace:
All hope excluded thus, behold, in ſtead
Of us out-caſt, exil'd, his new delight,
Mankind created, and for him this world.
So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Farewell remorſe: all good to me is loſt:

Evil be thou my good; by thee at leaſt
Divided empire with Heaven's King I hold,
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
As Man ere long, and this new world, ſhall know,
Thus while he ſpake, each paſſion dimm'd his face
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and deſpair;

Ver. 111. *Divided empire*] "Diviſum imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign*;] This paſſage has occaſioned much perplexity and confuſion, but it may eaſily be underſtood thus. *Evil be thou my good*; be thou all my delight, all my happineſs; *by thee I hold at leaſt divided empire with Heaven's King* at preſent, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven: *by thee* I ſay; he is made to repeat it with emphaſis, to add the greater force to his diabolical ſentiment, and to mark it more ſtrongly to the reader: *and* in a ſhort time *will reign perhaps more than half*, in this new world as well as in Hell: *as Man ere long, and this new world, ſhall know*. And he is very properly made to conclude his ſpeech with this, as this was now his main buſineſs and the end of his coming hither. NEWTON.

Ver. 114. ——— *each paſſion dimm'd his face*
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and deſpair;] Each paſſion, ire, envy, and deſpair, dimm'd his countenance, which was thrice changed with pale through the ſucceſſive agitations of theſe three paſſions. For, that paleneſs is the proper hue of envy and deſpair, every body knows, and we always reckon that ſort of anger the moſt deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance. It is remarkable, that in the argument to this book we read, inſtead of *ire*, FEAR, *envy, and deſpair*; and as *fear* may be juſtified by v. 18, *horrour and doubt diſtract*, and other places; ſo is *anger* warranted by v. 9, and by his curſing God and himſelf, and by his threatening of Man in the cloſe of his ſpeech. NEWTON.

The whole paſſage is an imitation of Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, i. ix. 16.

Which marr'd his borrow'd viſage, and betray'd
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.
For heavenly minds from ſuch diſtempers foul
Are ever clear. Whereof he ſoon aware,
Each perturbation ſmooth'd with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the firſt
That practis'd falſhood under ſaintly ſhow,
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:
Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive
Uriel once warn'd; whoſe eye purſued him down
The way he went, and on the Aſſyrian mount
Saw him diſfigur'd, more than could befall
Spirit of happy ſort: His geſtures fierce
He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
As he ſuppos'd, all unobſerv'd, unſeen.
So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradiſe,
Now nearer, crowns with her encloſure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a ſteep wilderneſs, whoſe hairy ſides

" *Thus as he ſpake,* his *viſage* waxed *pale,*
" And *chaunge of hew great paſſion did bewray;*
" Yet ſtill he ſtrove to cloke his inward bale,
" And *hide the ſmoke that did his fire betray.*"

Compare v. 120, 121.

Ver. 126. ——————— *on the Aſſyrian mount*] See note B. iii. 742. Niphates divides Armenia from Aſſyria; and from this mountain the river Tigris, that is, " Hiddekel, which goeth toward the *eaſt of Aſſyria,*" takes its riſe.

Ver. 135. — *a ſteep wilderneſs, whoſe hairy ſides*
With thickets overgrown, grotteſque and wild,
Acceſs denied;] Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

With thicket overgrown, grotteſque and wild,
Acceſs denied; and over-head up grew
Inſuperable highth of loftieſt ſhade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A ſylvan ſcene; and, as the ranks aſcend
Shade above ſhade, a woody theatre
Of ſtatelieſt view. Yet higher than their tops
The verdurous wall of Paradiſe up ſprung:
Which to our general ſire gave proſpect large
Into his nether empire neighbouring round.
And higher than that wall a circling row

" Dentro all' antica ſelva, tanto ch' io
" Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entraſſi."

Milton, in this book, appears to have often conſulted this fine canto of his favourite, Dante.

Ver. 140. ——————— *the ranks aſcend*
Shade above ſhade, a woody theatre
Of ſtatelieſt *view.*] So, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1633, p. 68. " About it (as if it had beene to incloſe a *theatre*) grew ſuch ſort of trees as either excellency of fruit, *ſtatelineſſe* of growth, continual greeneſſe, &c. have made at any time famous. They became a gallery aloft from tree to tree almoſt round about &c." I am indebted to G. Steevens, Eſq; for this illuſtration from Sidney.

I find alſo in Haringtoń's *Polindor and Floſtella*, 1651, p. 5, that, in the deſcription of a *grove*, the " *theatrick* faſhion" is noticed. Goldſmith, in his *Traveller*, has thus painted Italy:

" Its uplands, ſloping, deck the mountain's ſide,
" *Woods over woods* in gay *theatrick* pride."

It is probable, that ſome of the ſweet views in Italy were here in Milton's mind. It muſt not be forgotten that Virgil, in his fifth *Æneid*, deſcribes a natural theatre. And Lycophron, *Caſſand.* 600, edit. Potter, has the following phraſe, Θεατρομόρφα κλίτη.

Of goodlieſt trees, loaden with faireſt fruit,
Bloſſoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamell'd colours mix'd:
On which the ſun more glad impreſs'd his beams
Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow, 151

Ver. 147. ——————— *with faireſt* fruit,
Bloſſoms *and* fruits *at once of golden hue,*] Dr. Bentley reads *fruits* in the firſt verſe, becauſe *fruits* follows in the next: But I ſhould chuſe to read *fruit* in both places; becauſe I obſerve when Milton ſpeaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the ſingular number (when gathered, in the plural): See v. 249, and v. 422, B. v. 341, B. viii. 307, and *Comus*, v. 396.

"To ſave her *bloſſoms* and defend her *fruit*." PEARCE.

Dr. Newton obſerves the ſame expreſſion in B. vii. 325, 326. Mr. Bowle, among other references, here notices Waller's deſcription, in the *Summer-Iſlands*; where the diſtinction is not regarded:

"Ripe *fruits* and *bloſſoms* on the ſame trees live."

I will add Mr. Bowle's quotation from Alcimus Avitus, Archbiſhop of Vienna in the fifth century; *of Paradiſe, De Orig. Mundi*, Lib. ii. v. 6.

"Nam ſi curvati fœcundo pondere rami
"Mitia ſubmittunt ſublimi ex arbore poma;
"Protinus in florem vacuus turgeſcere palmes,
"Incipit, in'que novis fructum promittere gemmis."

Ver. 151. *Than* in *fair evening cloud,*] Read, "Than *on* fair evening cloud." BENTLEY.

I find I have been pre-occupied by Bentley, in making this ſlight emendation of *on* for *in*. We are to attend to the *effect* of the ſun on the evening cloud, and the rainbow, or its cloud. This reading makes the image plain. WARTON.

Bentley, it ſhould be added, was alſo pre-occupied by Hume; whoſe paraphraſe of the paſſage is, "*On* which the ſun more

When God hath ſhower'd the earth; ſo lovely
ſeem'd
That landſkip: And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inſpires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All ſadneſs but deſpair: Now gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings, diſpenſe

pleaſed diſplayed his beams, than *on* gay weſtern clouds, or the gawdy rainbow."

Ver. 152. ——— *ſo lovely ſeem'd*
That landſkip:] The garden of Eden, as Mr. Warton obſerves, is abſolutely of Milton's own creation. See note on *Comus*, v. 976.

Ver. 153. ——— *And of pure now purer air*
Meets his approach, &c.] Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

" Un' aura dolce, ſenza mutamento
" Avere in ſe, mi feria per la fronte,
" Non di più colpo, che ſoave vento."

Ver. 155. *Vernal delight and joy, able to drive*
All ſadneſs but deſpair:] " Como el tiempo en que navegavan era el principio del mes de mayo, las flores de los arboles, y la verdura y roſas de los deleytoſos campos eran en tanta abundancia, que qualquiera coraçon por triſte que fuera hinchiera de mucha alegria." *Olivante de Laura*, L. i. c. 13, 31. And *Eſpinoſa*, c. i. ſt. 35.

" Hallaronſe cerquita de muy ledo
" Puerto hermoſo, ylleno de freſcura,
" De arboles, naranjos, y frutales,
" *Baſtante de ſanar a dos mil males.*" BOWLE.

So, in Milton's *Tractate of Education*; " In thoſe vernal ſeaſons of the year, when the air is calm and pleaſant, it were an injury and ſullenneſs againſt nature not to go out, and ſee her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with Heaven and Earth."

Native perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
Thoſe balmy ſpoils. As when to them who ſail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are paſt
Mozambick, off at ſea north-eaſt winds blow
Sabean odours from the ſpicy ſhore

Ver. 158. ——— *and whiſper whence they ſtole*
Thoſe balmy ſpoils.] This fine paſſage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakſpeare's *Twelfth Night*,

——— " like the ſweet ſouth,
" That breathes upon a bank of violets,
" *Stealing*, and giving odour :"

But much improved, as Dr. Greenwood remarks, by the addition of that beautiful metaphor included in the word *whiſper*, which conveys to us a ſoft idea of the gentle manner in which they are communicated.

Mr. Thyer is ſtill of opinion, that Milton rather alluded to the following lines of Arioſto's deſcription of Paradiſe, where, ſpeaking of the *dolce aura*, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. ſt. 51, he ſays,

" E quella ai fiori, ai pomi, e alla verzura
" Gli odor diverſi depredando giva,
" E di tutti faceva una miſtura,
" Che di ſoavità l' alma nutriva :"

" The two firſt of theſe lines expreſs the air's ſtealing the native perfumes ; and the two latter, that vernal delight which they give to the mind. Beſides, it may be further obſerved, that this expreſſion of the air's ſtealing and diſperſing the ſweets of flowers, is very common in the beſt Italian poets. To inſtance only in one more, Marino, *Adon.* c. i. ſt. 131.

" Dolce confuſion di mille odori
" Sparge, e 'nvola volando aura predace." NEWTON.

Ver. 161. ——— *off at ſea north-eaſt winds blow*
Sabean odours, &c.] Mr. Wakefield ſays, that Milton delineated this beautiful deſcription from Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. 45, where the aromatick plants in Sabea, or Arabia

Of Araby the bleſt; with ſuch delay
Well pleas'd they ſlack their courſe, and many a league
Cheer'd with the grateful ſmell old Ocean ſmiles:
So entertain'd thoſe odorous ſweets the Fiend,
Who came their bane; though with them better pleas'd
Than Aſmodëus with the fiſhy fume
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the ſpouſe
Of Tobit's ſon, and with a vengeance ſent
From Media poſt to Egypt, there faſt bound.

Now to the aſcent of that ſteep ſavage hill
Satan had journey'd on, penſive and ſlow;
But further way found none, ſo thick entwin'd,
As one continued brake, the undergrowth

Felix, are deſcribed as yielding "inexpreſſible fragrance to the ſenſes; not unenjoyed even by the navigator, though he ſails by at a great diſtance from the ſhore. For, in the ſpring, when the wind blows off land, the odour from the aromatick trees and plants diffuſes itſelf over all the neighbouring ſea." *Notes on Gray*, p. 10.

So Sir W. Jones relates, in his Eſſay on the Poetry of the Eaſtern nations, that the valuable ſpice-trees, and balſamick plants, which grow in Arabia Felix, give, without ſpeaking poetically, a real perfume to the air; and the writer of an old hiſtory of the Turkiſh empire ſays, "The air of Egypt ſometimes in ſummer is like any ſweet perfume, and almoſt ſuffocates the ſpirits, cauſed by the wind that brings the odour of the Arabian ſpices."

See alſo Arioſto's deſcription of the Iſle of Cyprus, *Orl. Fur.* c. xviii. ſt. 138, Waller's *Night-Piece*, and Reed's *Old Plays*, vol. xi. p. 360.

Of ſhrubs and tangling buſhes had perplex'd
All path of man or beaſt that paſs'd that way.
One gate there only was, and that look'd eaſt
On the other ſide: which when the arch-felon ſaw,
Due entrance he diſdain'd; and, in contempt,
At one ſlight bound high over-leap'd all bound
Of hill or higheſt wall, and ſheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,

Ver. 177. *All path of man or beaſt that paſs'd that way.*] Satan is now come to the aſcent of the hill of Paradiſe, which was ſo overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beaſt could paſs that way. "That *paſs'd* that way," that *would have paſſed*; a remarkable manner of ſpeaking, not unlike that in B. ii. 642, "So *ſeem'd* far off the Fiend," that is, ſpeaking ſtrictly, *would have ſeem'd* if any one had been there to have ſeen him. The ſame manner of ſpeaking may be obſerved in the beſt claſſick authors. Thus Euripides, *Ion*, v. 1326.

Ἤκουσας, ὡς μ' ἐξέπεμψεν ἥδε μηχαναῖς;

"Have you heard how ſhe *killed* me," that is, *would have killed* me. NEWTON.

Ver. 181. *At one ſlight* bound *high over-leap'd all* bound
Of hill &c.] Mr. Steevens cites this paſſage, in order to keep Shakſpeare in countenance, *Rom. and Jul.* A. i. S. iv.

"I am too ſore enpierced with his ſhaft,
"To ſoar with his light feathers; and ſo *bound*,
"I cannot *bound* a pitch above dull woe."

Ver. 183. *As when a prowling wolf,*] A *wolf* is often the ſubject of a ſimile in Homer and Virgil, but here is conſidered in a new light; and perhaps never furniſhed out a ſtronger reſemblance: And the hint of this, and the additional ſimile of a *thief*, ſeem to have been taken from *John* x. 1. "He that entereth not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber." NEWTON.

Whom hunger drives to ſeek new haunt for prey,
Watching where ſhepherds pen their flocks at eve
In hurdled cotes amid the field ſecure,
Leaps o'er the fence with eaſe into the fold:
Or as a thief, bent to unhoard the caſh
Of ſome rich burgher, whoſe ſubſtantial doors,
Croſs-barr'd and bolted faſt, fear no aſſault,
In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles:
So clomb this firſt grand thief into God's fold;
So ſince into his church lewd hirelings climb.
Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,
The middle tree and higheſt there that grew,
Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life

Perhaps the ſimile of the *wolf* is taken from Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xix. ſt. 35.

" Qual lupo predatore a l' aer bruno
" Le chiuſe mandre, inſidiando, aggira,
" Secco l' avide fauci, e nel digiuno
" Da nativo odio ſtimulato, e d' ira."

Ver. 193. ——————— lewd *hirelings*] See note on *Lycidas*, 114. And compare *Acts*, xvii. 5. " Certain *lewd* fellows of the baſer ſort," that is, *profligate* or *ignorant*.

Ver. 195. *The middle tree and higheſt there that grew*,] " The tree of life alſo in the midſt of the garden." *Gen.* ii. 9. *In the midſt* is a Hebrew phraſe, expreſſing not only the local ſituation of this enlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the moſt conſiderable, the talleſt, goodlieſt, and moſt lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himſelf: So Scotus, Duran, Valeſius, *&c.* whom our poet follows, affirming it the *higheſt there that grew*. " To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God." *Rev.* ii. 7. HUME.

Ver. 196. *Sat like a cormorant*;] Poſſibly Milton might take

Thereby regain'd, but ſat deviſing death
To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd
For proſpect, what well us'd had been the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts beſt things

the hint of exhibiting Satan as a bird from the transformations of the Devil mentioned by Avitus, Lib. ii. v. 65.

" Alitis interdum ſubito mentita volantis
" Fit ſpecies." BOWLE.

Ibid. ——————*yet not true life* &c.] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better uſe of the tree of life. He ſat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himſelf; but ſat deviſing death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but uſed it only for the convenience of proſpect, when it might have been uſed, ſo as to have been a pledge of immortality. And ſo he perverted the beſt of things *to worſt abuſe*, by ſitting upon the tree of life deviſing death; *or to meaneſt uſe*, by uſing it only for proſpect, when he might have applied it to nobler purpoſes. But what uſe then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have altered his condition, or have rendered him more immortal than he was already? What other uſe then could he have made of it, unleſs he had taken occaſion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himſelf in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality? If the poet had not ſome ſuch meaning as this, it is not eaſy to ſay what is the ſenſe of the paſſage. Mr. Thyer thinks, that the *well us'd*, in this paſſage, relates to our firſt parents, and not to Satan: but I conceive that *well us'd*, and *only us'd*, muſt both refer to the ſame perſon: And what *ill uſe* did our firſt parents make of the tree of life? They did not uſe it till before the Fall; and, after the Fall, they were not permitted to uſe or eat of it at all. NEWTON.

To worſt abuſe, or to their meaneſt uſe.
Beneath him with new wonder now he views,
To all delight of human ſenſe expos'd,
In narrow room, Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
A Heaven on Earth: For bliſsful Paradiſe
Of God the garden was, by him in the eaſt
Of Eden planted; Eden ſtretch'd her line
From Auran eaſtward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,
Or where the ſons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telaſſar: In this pleaſant ſoil
His far more pleaſant garden God ordain'd;

Ver. 209. *Of God the garden was, by him in the eaſt*
Of Eden planted;] So the ſacred text, *Gen.* ii. 8. "*And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in Eden*," that is, eaſtward of the place where Moſes wrote his hiſtory, though Milton ſays *in the eaſt of Eden*; and then we have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terreſtrial Paradiſe was planted) extended from *Auran*, a city of Meſopotamia near the river Euphrates, eaſtward to *Seleucia*, a city built by Seleucus one of the ſucceſſours of Alexander the Great, upon the river Tigris. Or, in other words, this province was the ſame, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telaſſar*, (as Iſaiah ſays chap. xxxvii. 12.) which *Telaſſar* was a province and a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia, upon the common ſtreams of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir Iſaac Newton's *Chronol.* p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, ſomewhere in Meſopotamia. NEWTON.

Ver. 214. ——— *In this pleaſant ſoil*
His far more pleaſant garden God ordain'd;] It is obſervable that *Aden*, in the Eaſtern dialects, is preciſely the ſame word with *Eden*, which we apply to the garden of Paradiſe:

Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow
All trees of nobleſt kind for ſight, ſmell, taſte;
And all amid them ſtood the tree of life,
High eminent, blooming ambroſial fruit
Of vegetable gold; and next to life,
Our death, the tree of knowledge, grew faſt by,
Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
Southward through Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his courſe, but through the ſhaggy hill
Paſs'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden-mould high rais'd
Upon the rapid current, which, through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirſt up-drawn,
Roſe a freſh fountain, and with many a rill

It has two ſenſes, according to a ſlight difference in its pronunciation; its firſt meaning is *a ſettled abode*, its ſecond, *delight, ſoftneſs*, or *tranquillity*: The word *Eden* had, probably, one of theſe ſenſes in the ſacred text, though we uſe it as a proper name. SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is moſt probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *ſouthward*, and muſt needs be *a river large* by the joining of two ſuch mighty rivers. Upon this river it is ſuppoſed by the beſt commentators that the terreſtrial Paradiſe was ſituated. Milton calls this river Tigris in B. ix. 71. NEWTON.

Ver. 229. *Roſe a freſh fountain*, &c.] Compare Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

" L' acqua, che vedi, non ſurge di vena,
" Che riſtori vapor, che giel converta,
" Come fiume, ch' acquiſta o perde lena;
" Ma eſce di fontana ſalda e certa."

Water'd the garden; thence united fell
Down the ſteep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darkſome paſſage now appears,
And now, divided into four main ſtreams,
Runs diverſe, wandering many a famous realm
And country, whereof here needs no account; but rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
How from that ſapphire fount the criſped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and ſands of gold,
With mazy errour under pendant ſhades
Ran nectar, viſiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradiſe, which not nice Art

Ver. 233. *And now, divided into four main ſtreams,*] This is grounded upon the words of Moſes, *Gen.* ii. 10. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was *parted*, and became *into four heads*." NEWTON.

On this ſubject, however, ſee Huet's Treatiſe *De la Situation du Paradis Terreſtre*, Paris, 1711, Chapitre iv.

Milton, at the ſame time that he judiciouſly avoids a minute deſcription of the river and its diviſions, appears alſo to have followed an elegant account of Paradiſe, in which the ſame diſtinctions are made: "In ipſo hortorum apice *fons* eſt eximius, qui primùm argenteis aquarum vorticibus ebulliens, mox diffuſus in fluvium ſinuoſis flexibus, atque mæandris conciſus *oberrat*, et felicia arva perennibus fœcundat rivulis. Ad ſummum *in quatuor* ſalientes *dirifus celeberrimos amnes* efficit, qui, *varias terrarum plagas interſecantes*, pingui ac feraci limo rigant." P. Cauſinus de Eloq. lib. xi. edit. 1634.

Ver. 238. *Rolling on* orient pearl *and ſands of gold,*] Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers, are deſcribed by the poets as having golden ſands; but the deſcription is made richer here, and the water rolls on the *choiceſt pearls* as well as on ſands of gold. *Orient pearl* occurs in Shakſpeare's *Rich.* III, in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, and in Jonſon's *Fox*. NEWTON.

In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
Pour'd forth profuſe on hill, and dale, and plain,
Both where the morning ſun firſt warmly ſmote
The open field, and where the unpierc'd ſhade 245

Ver. 244. *Both where the morning ſun firſt warmly* ſmote
The open field,] This is a manner of expreſſion unuſual in our language, and plainly borrowed from the Italian poets, with whom it is very common. Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. viii. ſt. 20.

" *Percote* il ſole ardente il vicin colle."

Again, c. x. ſt. 35.

" *Percote* il ſol nel colle, e fa ritorno." THYER.

Mr. Thyer muſt have forgotten theſe paſſages in Spenſer, *Facr. Qu.* ii. xii. 63.

" The ſunny beames, which on the billowes *beat.*"

Ib. iii. v. 49.

" When the bright ſun his beames thereon doth *beat.*"

So Chapman, *Ovid's Banquet of Senſe*, 1595, v. 3.

——" with right beames the ſun her boſom *beat.*"

And Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, A. iv.

" The hot ſun *beats* on it."

Valerius Flaccus makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion, *Argonaut* i. 496. " *Percuſſaque* ſole—ſcuta." BOWLE.

See alſo R. Niccols, in the *Mir. for Mag.* 1610, p. 875.

" While *heauen's light* the earth's broade face ſhall *ſmite.*"

And *Pſalm* cxxi. 6. Old tranſlation. " The *ſun* ſhall not " *ſmite* thee by day."

Ver. 245. ——————— *the* unpierc'd ſhade] So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song vii.

" In gloomie ſecret *ſhades not pierc't* with ſommer's ſunne."

Imbrown'd the noontide bowers: Thus was this
place
A happy rural ſeat of various view;
Groves whoſe rich trees wept odorous gums and
balm,
Others whoſe fruit, burniſh'd with golden rind,
Hung amiable, Heſperian fables true,

Ver. 246. Imbrown'd *the noontide bowers:*] Mr. Thyer obſerves, that a perſon muſt be acquainted with the Italian language to diſcern the force and exact propriety of this term: it is a word which their poets make uſe of to deſcribe any thing ſhaded. To Mr. Thyer's inſtances of the word thus uſed, Mr. Warton adds others, in his note on *Sonnet* iii. v. 1. which ſee.

Ver. 248. ——— wept *odorous gums and balm,*] *Wept*, by the ſame beautiful metaphor, as Ovid ſays of the myrrh-tree, *Met.* x. 500.

"*Flet* tamen: et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ:
"Eſt honor et *lacrymis.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 250. *Heſperian fables true*, &c.] Dr. Bentley prefers *apples* to *fables*, and aſks how *fables* can be true any where? If they cannot, I wonder how the Doctor in his edition of Phædrus, ſuffered the following paſſage to ſtand without any cenſure,

"Hanc emendare, ſi tamen poſſum, volo
"Vera fabella."

The firſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is ſomething commonly talked of, whether true or falſe: And if Milton uſed the word *fable* ſo here, the ſenſe is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Heſperian apples* (or *fables*) *true, If true, here only*, becauſe (ſays he) *the Heſperian apples* are repreſented by the poets as of ſolid gold, far from being *of delicious taſte.* This objection is anſwered by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole paſſage thus,

If true, here only, and of delicious taſte:
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
Or palmy hillock; or the flowery lap
Of ſome irriguous valley ſpread her ſtore,
Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the roſe:

" Others, whoſe fruit burniſh'd with golden rind
" Hung amiable, (Heſperian fables true,
" If true, here only) and of delicious taſte." PEARCE.

Fables, ſtories, as in B. xi. 11. What is ſaid of the Heſperian gardens is true here only; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant: And moreover theſe fruits have a delicious taſte; thoſe there had none. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 255. *Of ſome* irriguous *valley*] *Well-watered, full of ſprings and rills:* It is the epithet of a garden in Horace, *Sat.* II. iv. 16.

" *Irriguo* nihil eſt elutius horto." HUME.

Ver. 256. ——————— *and without thorn the roſe:*] Dr. Bentley calls " *the roſe without thorn*" a puerile fancy. But it ſhould be remembered, that it was part of the curſe denounced upon the earth for Adam's tranſgreſſion, that it ſhould " bring " forth thorns and thiſtles," *Gen.* iii. 18. Hence the general opinion has prevailed, that there were *no thorns* before; which is enough to juſtify a poet, in ſaying " *the roſe was without* " *thorn.*" NEWTON.

The " *roſe without thorn*" is a rarity. And, though it was fine to imagine ſuch an one in Paradiſe, could only be an Italian refinement. Taſſo is the original:

" Senza quei ſuoi pungenti iſpidi dumi
" Spiegò le foglie la purpurea roſa." HURD.

Our own poetry was in poſſeſſion of this " *rarity*," before Milton's exhibition of it, ſupported by venerable authority. See Herrick's *Noble Numbers*, edit. 1647. p. 71.

" Before man's fall, the *roſe* was born
" (ST. AMBROSE SAYES) *without the thorn.*"

Another ſide, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool receſs, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant; mean while murmuring waters fall
Down the ſlope hills, diſpers'd, or in a lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her cryſtal mirrour holds, unite their ſtreams.
The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the ſmell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while univerſal Pan,

St. Baſil was of the ſame opinion. Milton, in his deſcription of Paradiſe particularly, appears to have conſulted the Fathers.

Ver. 264. *The birds their quire* apply ;] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. i. 40.

——— " ſweet birds thereto *applide*
" Their dainty layes and dulcet melody." BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— *airs, vernal airs,*
Breathing the ſmell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves,] Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

" In queſta altezza, che tutta è diſciolta,
" Nell' aer vivo, tal moto percuote,
" E fa ſonar la ſelva, perch' è ſolta:
" E la percoſſa pianta tanto puote,
" Che della ſua virtute l' aura impregna,
" E quella poi girando intorno ſcuote."

Compare alſo v. 156, " Now gentle gales, &c."

Ver. 266. ——— *while univerſal Pan,* &c.] While univerſal Nature, linked with the graceful Seaſons, danced a perpetual round, and throughout the earth, yet unpolluted, led eternal ſpring. All the poets favour the opinion of the world's creation in the ſpring. See Virgil, *Georg.* II. 338, and Ovid. *Met.* I. 107.

Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
Led on the eternal ſpring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proſerpine gathering flowers,
Herſelf a fairer flower by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which coſt Ceres all that pain
To ſeek her through the world; nor that ſweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and the inſpir'd

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful ſeaſons, in which all things ſeem to dance and ſmile in an univerſal joy, is plain from Horace, *Od.* IV. vii. 1, &c. And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus, in his Hymn to Apollo. HUMF.

Ver. 268. ——— *Not that fair field*
Of Enna, &c.] *Enna*, the *grove of Daphne*, the *Nyſean Iſle*, and *Mount Amara*, are places celebrated by the ancients for their great beauty. RICHARDSON.

Of the ſweet grove of Daphne, ſee Strabo, Lib. xvi.

Ver. 269. ——— *where* Proſérpine *gathering flowers*,] *Proſerpine* is here pronounced with the accent on the ſecond ſyllable, like the Latin, and as Spenſer and the old Engliſh poets pronounce it. *Faer. Qu.* i. ii. 2.

" And ſad *Proſérpine's* wrath them to affright." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *where Proſérpine gathering flowers,*
Herſelf a fairer flower by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd,] Ovid, *Met.* V. 391. of Enna:

——— " *Quo* dum Proſerpina *luco*
" Ludit, et *aut violas, aut candida lilia carpit*,—
" Pœnè ſimul viſa eſt, dilectáque, *raptáque Diti*."

Compare alſo Euripides, *Ion*, v. 889, &c. of Creuſa.

Ver. 273. ——— *and the* inſpir'd
Caſtalian ſpring,] Not that known one at the foot of Parnaſſus, but that of the grove of Daphne which *foretold* Hadrian's advancement to the empire. RICHARDSON.

Caſtalian ſpring, might with this Paradiſe
Of Eden ſtrive; nor that Nyſeian iſle
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid ſon
Young Bacchus, from his ſtepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor where Abaſſin kings their iſſue guard,
Mount Amara, though this by ſome ſuppos'd
True Paradiſe under the Ethiop line

Ver. 278. *Hid* Amalthea, *and her florid ſon*
Young Bacchus,] Bacchus is commonly ſaid to be the ſon of Semele, not of Amalthea; but Milton here follows Diodorus Siculus, who quotes a moſt ancient poet as his authority. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 280. ——— Abaſſin *kings*] Kings of Upper Ethiopia, or *Abyſſinia*. The inhabitants of this country were called by the neighbouring Arabians *Habaſſi*, whence *Abiſſenes* or *Abaſſins* in our language. See Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, 1626, vol. v. p. 734.

Ver. 281. *Mount Amara,*] The following paſſage from Heylin's *Microcoſmus*, 1627, will explain what Milton relates of this mountain. "The hill of Amara is *a dayes journey high*: on the toppe whereof are 34 pallaces, *in which the yonger ſonnes of the emperour are continuallie incloſed*, to avoide ſedition. They injoy there whatſoeuer is fit for delight or princely education, &c. This mountaine hath but one aſcent vp, which is *impregnablie fortified*, and was deſtinate to this uſe anno 470, or thereabouts."

Ver. 282. ——— *under the Ethiop line* &c.] Under the Equinoctial line, "where the ſunne may take his beſt view thereof, as not encountring in all his long iourney with the like theatre, wherein the Graces and Muſes are actors, &c. Once, Heauen and Earth, Nature and Induſtrie, haue been all corriuals to it, all preſenting their beſt preſents, to make it of this ſo louely preſence; *ſome taking this for the place of our Fore-fathers Paradiſe.*

By Nilus' head, enclos'd with ſhining rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From this Aſſyrian garden, where the Fiend
Saw, undelighted, all delight, all kind
Of living creatures, new to ſight, and ſtrange.
Two of far nobler ſhape, erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native honour clad
In naked majeſty ſeem'd lords of all:
And worthy ſeem'd; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker ſhone,
Truth, wiſdom, ſanctitude ſevere and pure,

" The top is a plaine field, onely toward the South is a riſing hil, beautifying this plaine, as it were with a watch-tower, not ſeruing alone to the eye, but yeelding alſo a pleaſant ſpring which paſſeth through all that plaine, paying his tributes to euery garden that will exact it, and making a lake, whence iſſueth a riuer, which, hauing from theſe tops eſpied *Nilus*, neuer leaues ſeeking to finde him, whom he cannot leaue both to ſeeke and finde, that by his direction and conueyance hee may together with him preſent himſelfe before the father and great king of waters, the Sea." Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, 1626, vol. v. p. 743.

Ver. 285. *From this* Aſſyrian *garden,*] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends *Meſopotamia* in the ancient *Aſſyria*.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 293. *Truth, wiſdom, ſanctitude ſevere and pure,*
(Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd,)
Whence true authority in men;] The middle verſe ought to have been put thus in a parentheſis; for the *true authority in men* ariſes, not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth*, *wiſdom*, and *ſanctitude ſevere and pure*, that is, ſtrict holineſs; which are qualities that give to magiſtrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want, who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning: and, for explaining the word *ſevere*, he inſerts a verſe, to ſhow that he does not

(Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd,)
Whence true authority in men; though both
Not equal, as their ſex not equal ſeem'd;
For contemplation he and valour form'd;
For ſoftneſs ſhe and ſweet attractive grace;
He for God only, ſhe for God in him:

mean ſuch a *ſanctitude* or holineſs as is rigid and auſtere, but ſuch as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the ſcriptural expreſſions, which repreſent good Chriſtians as *free* and as the *ſons* of God: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our ſanctitude ariſes) is a *filial*, and not a ſlaviſh one; a reverence, rather than a fear, of the Deity. NEWTON.

Ver. 295. ——————— *though both*
Not equal, as their ſex not equal ſeem'd;] Let us compare this, and what follows in the twelve ſubſequent lines, with what a certain writer has ſaid upon the ſame ſubject; whom, from ſeveral paſſages in his work, it may reaſonably be inferred that Milton conſulted. "Likewiſe is the male ſex preferred before the female in degree of place, and in dignitie, as all will yield that conſider the words of Scripture in that behalf: for the woman was made for man, and not man for the woman. He is the image and glory of God; Shee is his image and his glory: and nature has given her, her hair for a covering, as a natural badge of this her inferiority to the man." William Whateley's *Bride-Buſh*, 1619, p. 201. BOWLE.

Ver. 299. *He for God only, ſhe for God* in *him:*] The author gave it thus, ſays Dr. Bentley,

"He for God only, ſhe for God *and* him."

The oppoſition demonſtrates this, and, ver. 440, Eve ſpeaks to Adam,

——— "O thou *for whom*
"And from whom I was form'd—"

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His fair large front and eye ſublime declar'd
Abſolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Cluſtering, but not beneath his ſhoulders broad:
She, as a veil, down to the ſlender waiſt

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bentley, and to the proof which he brings, adds B. x. 150.

——— " made of thee
" And *for thee*."

And indeed, though ſome have endeavoured to juſtify the common reading, yet this is ſo much better, that we cannot but wiſh it was admitted into the text. NEWTON.

Ver. 301. ——— hyacinthine *locks*] Minerva, in Homer, gives Ulyſſes *hyacinthine* locks, to make him look more beautiful, *Odyſſ.* vi. 232. Euſtathius interprets *hyacinthine* by *black*; and Suidas, by *very dark brown*: And Milton, in like manner, means *brown* or *black* locks, diſtinguiſhing Adam's hair from Eve's in the colour, as well as in other particulars. NEWTON.

Poſſibly Milton may mean, that Adam's locks were curled like the bloſſoms of the hyacinth, without any alluſion to the colour. The paſſage in Homer, to which doctor Newton's note refers, is thus rendered by Cowper;

" His curling locks like hyacinthine flowers."

Ver. 303. *Cluſtering*,] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 54.

Ver. 304. *She, as a veil, down to the ſlender waiſt*
Her unadorned golden treſſes &c.] In like manner Marino paints his Venus. *Adon.* cant. viii. ſt. 46.

" Onde a guiſa d'un vel dorato, e ſolto
" Celando il bianco ſeu trà l'onde loro,
" In mille minutiſſimi ruſcelli
" Dal capo ſcaturir gli aurei capelli."

The poet has, I think, ſhowed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entering into a circumſtantial de-

Her unadorned golden treſſes wore
Diſhevell'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd 305

ſcription of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occaſion of giving an indulgent looſe to his fancy: ſince the moſt laviſh imagination could not poſſibly carry too high the charms of woman, as ſhe firſt came out of the hands of her heavenly Maker. But, as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her perſon in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind. Moſt great poets have laboured in a particular manner the delineation of their beauties, (Arioſto's Alcina, Taſſo's Armida, and Spenſer's Belphœbe,) and it is very probable that the portrait of Eve would have rivalled them all, if the chaſte correctneſs of our author's Muſe had not reſtrained him. THYER.

Ver. 305. ——— *golden treſſes*] This ſort of hair was moſt admired and celebrated by the ancients, I ſuppoſe as it uſually betokens a fairer ſkin and finer complexion. It would be almoſt endleſs to quote paſſages to this purpoſe in praiſe of Helen, and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herſelf, the Goddeſs of beauty, is deſcribed of this colour and complexion; and therefore is ſtiled *golden Venus*, χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη, by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had the taſte of the ancients in other things, ſo likewiſe in this particular. He muſt certainly have preferred this to all other colours, or he would never have beſtowed it upon Eve, whom he deſigned as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And poſſibly he might at the ſame time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had ſeen his widow in Cheſhire, that ſhe had hair of this colour. It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own perſon, of which he had no mean opinion.

NEWTON.

As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle ſway,
And by her yielded, by him beſt receiv'd,
Yielded with coy ſubmiſſion, modeſt pride,
And ſweet, reluctant, amorous delay.
Nor thoſe myſterious parts were then conceal'd;
Then was not guilty ſhame, diſhoneſt ſhame
Of nature's works, honour diſhonourable,

Ver. 307. ——— *which implied*
Subjection,] The poet manifeſtly alludes to St. Paul's firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. 14, 15. He adds, that this ſubjection was *requir'd* by him *with gentle ſway, and yielded by her,* but it was *beſt receiv'd by him,* when *yielded with coy ſubmiſſion, modeſt pride, and ſweet, reluctant, amorous delay*; which is expreſſed with more elegance than that admired paſſage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, *Od.* II. xii. 26.

" facili ſævitia negat
" Quæ poſcente magis gaudeat eripi,
" Interdum rapere occupat." NEWTON.

Ver. 311. *And ſweet, reluctant, amorous delay.*] Copied literally by Pope, *Odyſſ.* ix. 32.

" With ſweet, reluctant, amorous delay."

Ver. 313. ——— *honour diſhonourable,*] He alludes to I. *Cor.* xii. 24. " And thoſe members of the body, which we think to be *leſs honourable*; upon theſe we beſtow more abundant *honour.*" But that *honour,* is really a *diſhonour*; a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no ſuch diſtinction. NEWTON.

Milton uſes the phraſe, in his *Colaſterion:* " Belike then the wrongful ſuffering of all thoſe ſad breaches and abuſes in marriage to a remedileſs thraldom, is the ſtrength and honour of marriage; a boiſterous and beſtial ſtrength, a *diſhonourable honour.*"

Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind
With ſhows inſtead, mere ſhows of ſeeming pure,
And baniſh'd from man's life his happieſt life,
Simplicity and ſpotleſs innocence!
So paſs'd they naked on, nor ſhunn'd the ſight
Of God or Angel; for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they paſs'd, the lovelieſt pair,
That ever ſince in love's embraces met;
Adam the goodlieſt man of men ſince born

Ver. 315. ——— *how have* ye *troubled*] Should we not read,

"Sin-bred, how have *you* troubled"—

for, what is he ſpeaking to beſides *Shame?* NEWTON.

Ver. 323. *Adam the goodlieſt man of men* &c.] Theſe two lines are cenſured by Addiſon, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his ſons, and Eve one of her daughters: But this manner of expreſſion is borrowed from the Greek language, in which we find ſometimes the ſuperlative degree uſed inſtead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his ſons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is ſaid to have been ἀκυμορώτατος ἀλλων, *Iliad*, i. 505; that is, more ſhort-lived than others. So Nireus is ſaid to have been the handſomeſt of the other Grecians, *Iliad*, ii. 673.

——— ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε,
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν,———

And the ſame manner of ſpeaking has paſſed from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is called in Horace, *Sat.* I. i. 100, *fortiſſima Tyndaridarum*, not that ſhe was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, ſo Diana is ſaid by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but more handſome than any of them. And I believe a man would not

His ſons, the faireſt of her daughters Eve.
Under a tuft of ſhade that on a green
Stood whiſpering ſoft, by a freſh fountain ſide
They ſat them down; and, after no more toil
Of their ſweet gardening labour than ſuffic'd
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made eaſe
More eaſy, wholſome thirſt and appetite
More grateful, to their ſupper-fruits they fell,
Nectarine fruits which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, ſide-long as they ſat recline
On the ſoft downy bank damaſk'd with flowers:

be corrected for writing falſe Engliſh, who ſhould ſay *the moſt learned of all others* inſtead of *more learned than all others*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 325. *Under a tuft of ſhade that on a green* &c.] The reader may compare this, and the nine following verſes, with a deſcription of the ſame kind in the *Sarcotis* of Maſenius; a poem, from which Milton has been charged with borrowing: And, though he may perceive ſome reſemblance of thought and expreſſion, accidental, I think, rather than imitative, he will acknowledge, in Milton's painting, thoſe maſterly beauties, and that exquiſite colouring, which "give the world aſſurance" of his originality. See the *Sarcotis*, Lib. i. p. 93. edit. Barbou.

"Blanda quies, ſed inempta placet; formoſâque pictis
"Herba toris, roſeo quam Chloris purpurat oſtro,
"Quamque ornat Natura parens, ubi blandior aura
"Alludit placidò ſomnum fotura ſuſurro.
"Hîc menſæ genialis opes, et dapſilis arbos
"Fructibus inflexos, fecundo palmite, ramos
"Curvat ad obſequium, præbétque alimenta petenti."

Ver. 334. *On the ſoft downy* bank damaſk'd *with* flowers:] To *damaſk* the ground with flowers, was a favourite phraſe among our old poets. Thus P. Fletcher, *Purp. Iſl.* c. xii. ſt. 1,

The ſavoury pulp they chew, and in the rind,
Still as they thirſted, ſcoop the brimming ſtream;
Nor gentle purpoſe, nor endearing ſmiles
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance, as beſeems
Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
Alone as they. About them friſking play'd
All beaſts of the earth, ſince wild, and of all chaſe
In wood or wilderneſs, foreſt or den;
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gamboll'd before them; the unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, us'd all his might, and wreath'd
His lithe proboſcis; cloſe the ſerpent fly,
Inſinuating, wove with Gordian twine

——————— "upon the flowrie *banks*,
"Where various *flowers damaſke* the fragrant ſeat."

See alſo G. Fletcher, *Chriſt's Vict.* p. ii. ſt. 41. And Drayton, *Muſes Eliz.* 1630. p. 1. Fenton, in his *Ode to Lord Gower*, has copied Milton:

"And *damaſking* the ground *with flowers*."

Ver. 337. *Nor gentle purpoſe,*] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. viii. 14.

"He 'gan make *gentle purpoſe* to his dame." THYER.

Ver. 347. *His lithe proboſcis*;] His limber trunk, ſo pliant and uſeful to him, that Cicero calls it "elephantorum *manum*," the elephant's *hand*. HUME.

Ver. 348. *Inſinuating,*] Wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were emboſoming himſelf. *Sinuoſus* and *ſinuare*, are words often uſed by Virgil, to expreſs the winding motions of this wily animal. HUME.

His braided train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded; others on the grafs
Couch'd, and now fill'd with paſture gazing fat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the ſun,
Declin'd, was haſting now with prone career
To the ocean iſles, and in the aſcending ſcale
Of Heaven the ſtars that uſher evening roſe:

Ver. 349. ——— *and of his fatal guile*
Gave proof unheeded;] That intricate form, into which he put himſelf, was a ſort of ſymbol or type of his fraud, though not then regarded. RICHARDSON.

Milton is larger in the deſcription of the ſerpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciouſly, as he is afterwards made the inſtrument of ſo much miſchief: And at the ſame time he gives an intimation of his *fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows. NEWTON.

Ver. 352. *Or bedward* ruminating;] Chewing the cud before they go to reſt. HUME.

Thomſon, in his *Summer*, paints his herds from Milton:

——— "on the graſſy bank
"Some *ruminating* lie."

And Milton probably had Arioſto in view, as Mr. Bowle alſo obſerves, *Orl. Fur.* c. vi. ſt. 22.

"Sicuri ſi vedean lepri, e conigli,
"E cervi con la fronte alta e ſuperba;
"Senza temer, ch' alcun gli uccida, o pigli,
"Paſcono, o ſtanſi *ruminando* l' erba."

Ver. 354. ——— *in the aſcending* ſcale
Of Heaven] Milton ſeems to have borrowed his metaphor of the *ſcales* of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one aſcending as the other ſinks, from the heavenly ſign, *Libra*, or the *balance*; for when the ſun is in that ſign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weighed in a balance. NEWTON.

When Satan ſtill in gaze, as firſt he ſtood,
Scarce thus at length fail'd ſpeech recover'd ſad.
O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!
Into our room of bliſs thus high advanc'd
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to heavenly Spirits bright
Little inferiour; whom my thoughts purſue
With wonder, and could love, ſo lively ſhines
In them divine reſemblance, and ſuch grace
The hand that form'd them on their ſhape hath pour'd.
Ah! gentle pair, ye little think how nigh
Your change approaches, when all theſe delights
Will vaniſh, and deliver ye to woe;
More woe, the more your taſte is now of joy;
Happy, but for ſo happy ill ſecur'd
Long to continue, and this high ſeat your Heaven
Ill fenc'd for Heaven to keep out ſuch a foe
As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
Though I unpitied: League with you I ſeek,
And mutual amity, ſo ſtrait, ſo cloſe,

Ver. 357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd ſpeech recover'd ſad.*] Though Satan came in queſt of Adam and Eve, yet he is ſtruck with ſuch aſtoniſhment at the ſight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his ſpeech, and break forth into this ſoliloquy: And, at the ſame time, this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of enlarging his deſcription of them. This is very beautiful. NEWTON.

Ver. 362. *Little inferiour;*] See *Pſalm* viii. 5, and *Heb.* ii. 7. NEWTON.

That I with you muſt dwell, or you with me
Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not pleaſe,
Like this fair Paradiſe, your ſenſe; yet ſuch
Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me,
Which I as freely give: Hell ſhall unfold,
To entertain you two, her wideſt gates,
And ſend forth all her kings; there will be room,
Not like theſe narrow limits, to receive
Your numerous offspring; if no better place,
Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
And ſhould I at your harmleſs innocence
Melt, as I do, yet publick reaſon juſt,

Ver. 381. ——— *Hell ſhall unfold,*
To entertain you two, her wideſt gates,
And ſend forth all her kings;] *Iſaiah* xiv. 9. "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it ſtirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth: it hath raiſed up from their thrones all the kings of the nations." GILLIES.

Ver. 389. ——— *yet publick reaſon juſt*, &c.] Publick reaſon *compels me*; and that publick reaſon is honour and empire enlarged with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *publick reaſon juſt*, and *neceſſity*, to *excuſe his deviliſh deeds*; the *tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it; probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ſhip-money. NEWTON.

The ſame plea is ſaid to have been Cromwell's apology for the murder of the king. For it is related that, on the evening of the execution of Charles, the arch-hypocrite walked round the corpſe, as it lay in one of the rooms at Whitehall, muffled up in a long black cloak, and repeating to himſelf, "Dreadful *neceſſity!*" See Europ. Mag. vol. xx. p. 106, and Anecdotes of diſtinguiſhed perſons, &c. vol. 1. p. 254.

Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd,
By conquering this new world, compels me now
To do what elſe, though damn'd, I ſhould abhor.
So ſpake the Fiend, and with neceſſity,
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his deviliſh deeds.
Then from his lofty ſtand on that high tree
Down he alights among the ſportful herd
Of thoſe four-footed kinds, himſelf now one,
Now other, as their ſhape ſerv'd beſt his end
Nearer to view his prey, and, uneſpied,
To mark what of their ſtate he more might learn,
By word or action mark'd: About them round
A lion now he ſtalks with fiery glare;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath ſpied
In ſome purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
Straight couches cloſe, then, riſing, changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who choſe his ground,
Whence ruſhing he might ſureſt ſeiſe them both,
Grip'd in each paw: when Adam, firſt of men,
To firſt of women, Eve, thus moving ſpeech,
Turn'd him, all ear to hear new utterance flow.

Ver. 402. *A lion now he ſtalks with fiery glare;*] It is not improbable, that Milton might borrow the metamorphoſis of Satan, on his firſt ſight of Paradiſe, from the Pagan idea of the tranſformation of Bacchus, Euripid. *Bacchæ.* v. 1015. ed. Barnes.

Φάνηθι ταῦρος, ἢ πολύχραιὸς γ' ἰδεῖν
Δράκων, ἢ πυριφλέγων
Ὀρᾶσθαι λέων.

And this probability is encreaſed by the image, which conveys the idea of the πυριφλέγων λέων. Joddrell's Illuſtr. of Euripides, vol. ii. p. 452.

Ver. 410. *Turn'd him,* all ear] See note on *Comus,* v. 560.

Sole partner, and ſole part, of all theſe joys,
Dearer thyſelf than all; needs muſt the Power
That made us, and for us this ample world,
Be infinitely good, and of his good
As liberal and free as infinite;
That rais'd us from the duſt, and plac'd us here
In all this happineſs, who at his hand
Have nothing merited, nor can perform
Aught whereof he hath need; he who requires
From us no other ſervice than to keep
This one, this eaſy charge, of all the trees
In Paradiſe that bear delicious fruit

Ver. 411. *Sole partner, and ſole part, of all theſe joys,*] So the paſſage ought to be read, I think, with a comma after *part:* And *of* here ſignifies *among*. The ſenſe is, "Among all theſe joys thou alone art my partner, and, what is more, thou alone art part of me, as in v. 487,

"*Part* of my ſoul I ſeek thee, and thee claim
"My other half."

Of, in Milton, frequently ſignifies *among*. PEARCE.

Ver. 419. *Aught whereof he hath need;*] *Acts* xvii. 25. "Neither is worſhipped with men's hands, as though *he needed* any thing." GILLIES.

Ver. 421. *This one, this eaſy charge,* &c.] It was very natural for Adam to diſcourſe of this; and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn: And it is expreſſed from God's command, *Gen.* ii. 16, 17.

In like manner, when Adam ſays afterwards "*dominion given over all other creatures* &c." it is taken from the divine commiſſion, *Gen.* i. 28. Theſe things are ſo evident, that it is almoſt ſuperfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be ſenſible how much of Scripture our author has wrought into this divine poem. NEWTON.

So various, not to taſte that only tree
Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;
So near grows death to life, whate'er death is,
Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'ſt
God hath pronounc'd it death to taſte that tree,
The only ſign of our obedience left,
Among ſo many ſigns of power and rule
Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given
Over all other creatures that poſſeſs
Earth, air, and ſea. Then let us not think hard
One eaſy prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave ſo large to all things elſe, and choice
Unlimited of manifold delights:
But let us ever praiſe him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful taſk,
To prune theſe growing plants, and tend theſe flowers,
Which were it toilſome, yet with thee were ſweet.
To whom thus Eve replied. O thou for whom
And from whom I was form'd, fleſh of thy fleſh,
And without whom am to no end, my guide
And head! what thou haſt ſaid is juſt and right.
For we to him indeed all praiſes owe,
And daily thanks; I chiefly, who enjoy
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
Pre-eminent by ſo much odds, while thou
Like conſort to thyſelf canſt no where find.

That day I oft remember, when from ſleep
I firſt awak'd, and found myſelf repos'd
Under a ſhade on flowers, much wondering where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not diſtant far from thence a murmuring ſound
Of waters iſſued from a cave, and ſpread
Into a liquid plain, then ſtood unmov'd
Pure as the expanſe of Heaven; I thither went
With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear

Ver. 449. *That day I oft remember,*] From this, as well as ſeveral other paſſages in the poem, it appears, that the poet ſuppoſes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradiſe before the Fall. See B. iv. 639, 680, 712, and B. v. 31, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 450. *I firſt* awak'd,] As death is often compared to *ſleep*, ſo our coming into life may well be likened to *waking*: And Adam ſpeaks in the ſame figure, B. viii. 253.

"As *new-wak'd* from ſoundeſt ſleep, &c."

If we compare his account of himſelf upon his creation, with this here given by Eve; the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage. NEWTON.

Ver. 451. *Under a ſhade* on *flowers*,] The ſecond edition reads, "Under a ſhade *of* flowers," which has been followed in Tonſon's earlier editions; but Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and Newton, rightly follow the firſt edition, "Under a ſhade *on* flowers." To repoſe *on flowers under a ſhade*, is ſo elegant an expreſſion; and to repoſe *merely under a ſhade of flowers*, ſo inſignificant; that I am perſuaded the reading of the ſecond edition muſt be an errour of the preſs.

Ver. 458. ——— *to look into the clear*
Smooth lake,] This account that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image,

Smooth lake, that to me ſeem'd another ſky.
As I bent down to look, juſt oppoſite
A ſhape within the watery gleam appear'd,
Bending to look on me: I ſtarted back,
It ſtarted back; but pleas'd I ſoon return'd,
Pleas'd it return'd as ſoon with anſwering looks
Of ſympathy and love: There I had fix'd
Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain deſire,
Had not a voice thus warn'd me, "What thou ſeeſt,
"What there thou ſeeſt, fair Creature, is thyſelf;
"With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
"And I will bring thee where no ſhadow ſtays
"Thy coming, and thy ſoft embraces, he
"Whoſe image thou art; him thou ſhalt enjoy
"Inſeparably thine, to him ſhalt bear
"Multitudes like thyſelf, and thence be call'd
"Mother of human race." What could I do,

when ſhe had ſeen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous ſtory of Narciſſus in Ovid; from whom Milton manifeſtly took the hint, and has expreſsly imitated ſome paſſages; but has avoided all his puerilities without loſing any of his beauties; as the reader may eaſily obſerve by comparing both together, *Met.* iii. 457.

"Spem mihi neſcio quam vultu promittis amico:
"Cúmque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro:
"Cum riſi, arrides: Lacrymas quoque ſæpe notavi,
"Me lacrymante, tuas. ———
"Iſta repercuſſæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra eſt:
"Nil habet iſta ſui: Técum venítque, manétque;
"Técum diſcedet, ſi tu diſcedere poſſis." NEWTON.

But follow ſtraight, inviſibly thus led?
Till I eſpied thee, fair indeed and tall,
Under a platane; yet methought leſs fair,
Leſs winning ſoft, leſs amiably mild,
Than that ſmooth watery image: Back I turn'd;
Thou following cry'dſt aloud, "Return fair Eve,
"Whom fly'ſt thou? whom thou fly'ſt, of him thou art,
"His fleſh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
"Out of my ſide to thee, neareſt my heart,
"Subſtantial life, to have thee by my ſide
"Henceforth an individual ſolace dear;
"Part of my ſoul I ſeek thee, and thee claim
"My other half:" With that thy gentle hand
Seis'd mine: I yielded; and from that time ſee
How beauty is excell'd by manly grace,
And wiſdom, which alone is truly fair.

Ver. 478. *Under a* platane;] The *plane-tree*, ſo named from the breadth of its leaves, πλατὺς, Greek, *broad*; a tree uſeful and delightful for its extraordinary ſhade, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 146.

"Jamque miniſtrantem *platanum* potantibus umbram."

HUME.

Tickell and Fenton corruptly read "a *plantan*;" a tree very different from that which Milton means.

Ver. 483. *His fleſh, his bone;*] The Scripture expreſſion, *Gen.* ii. 23; as, afterwards, "*Part of my ſoul, My other half,*" is from Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 8. "Animæ dimidium meæ."

NEWTON.

So ſpake our general mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek ſurrender, half-embracing lean'd
On our firſt father; half her ſwelling breaſt
Naked met his, under the flowing gold
Of her looſe treſſes hid: he in delight
Both of her beauty, and ſubmiſſive charms,
Smil'd with ſuperiour love, as Jupiter

Ver. 492. *So ſpake our general mother, and with eyes*
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd, &c.] Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 16.

"But with glad thanks and *unreproved* truth."

What a charming picture of love and innocence has the poet given us in this paragraph! There is the greateſt warmth of affection, and yet the moſt exact delicacy and decorum. One would have thought that a ſcene of this nature could not, with any conſiſtency, have been introduced into a divine poem; and yet our author has ſo nicely and judiciouſly covered the ſoft deſcription with the veil of modeſty, that the pureſt and chaſteſt mind can find no room for offence. The *meek ſurrender*, and the *half embracement*, are circumſtances inimitable. An Italian's imagination would have hurried him the length of ten or a dozen ſtanzas upon this occaſion, and with its luxuriant wildneſs changed Adam and Eve into a Venus and Adonis. THYER.

Ver. 499. *Smil'd with ſuperiour love, as Jupiter*
On Juno ſmiles, &c.] As the heaven ſmiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the ſpring. This ſeems to be the meaning of the allegory.

The expreſſion of *the clouds ſhedding flowers* is very poetical, and not unlike that fine one of *the clouds dropping fatneſs*, Pſalm lxxv. 12.

Then follows, *And preſs'd her matron lip*, where the conſtruction is, "Adam ſmil'd with ſuperiour love, and preſs'd her matron lip;" the ſimile being to be underſtood as included in a

On Juno ſmiles, when he impregns the clouds
That ſhed May flowers; and preſs'd her matron lip
With kiſſes pure: Aſide the Devil turn'd
For envy; yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them aſkance, and to himſelf thus plain'd.
Sight hateful, ſight tormenting! thus theſe two,
Imparadis'd in one another's arms,

parentheſis. Her *matron* lip evidently ſignifies her *married* lip, in diſtinction from a *virgin* lip, as Ovid, ſpeaking of Lucretia then married, ſays *matron* cheeks, *Faſt.* ii. 828.

" Et *matronales* erubuere genæ."

It implies that ſhe was married to him, and that therefore their kiſſes were lawful and innocent. It was the innocence of their loves that made the Devil turn aſide for envy. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton alſo ſuppoſes, that the loves of Jupiter and Juno, deſcribed in the fourteenth *Iliad*, might give occaſion to this ſimile. Perhaps Pope thought the ſame, as, in his tranſlation, he adopts Milton's phraſeology, deſcribing Jupiter " *ſmiling with ſuperiour love*," v. 387.

Ver. 500. ——— *when he* impregns *the clouds*] Milton has here cut off the laſt ſyllable of *impregnates*, and made it *impregns*, for, according to the analogy of language, it ſhould have been *impregnates*, as it is commonly uſed, being derived from the barbarous Latin verb *impregno*. See Du Cange's Gloſſary. LORD MONBODDO.

The word had been before uſed by Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1ſt. p. 15.

" This all-ſpread Semele doth Bacchus bear,
" *Impregn'd* of Jove &c."

Ver. 506. *Imparadis'd*] This word has been quoted by Bentley from Sidney's *Arcadia*. It was common in Milton's time: Drayton, the two Fletchers, Harington, Donne, and Cleveland, alſo uſe it. The original is Dante, *Paradiſo*, c. xxviii.

The happier Eden, ſhall enjoy their fill
Of bliſs on bliſs; while I to Hell am thruſt,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce deſire,
Among our other torments not the leaſt,
Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
From their own mouths: All is not theirs, it ſeems;
One fatal tree there ſtands, of knowledge call'd,
Forbidden them to taſte: Knowledge forbidden?
Suſpicious, reaſonleſs. Why ſhould their Lord
Envy them that? Can it be ſin to know?
Can it be death? And do they only ſtand
By ignorance? Is that their happy ſtate,
The proof of their obedience and their faith?
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
With more deſire to know, and to reject
Envious commands, invented with deſign

" Poſcia che 'ncontro alla vita preſente
" De' miſeri mortale aperſe 'l vero
" Quella, che '*mparadiſa* la mia mente."

Ver. 509. Where *neither joy nor love,*] Dr. Bentley propoſes to read, *Where's*, contracted for *Where is*; but Dr. Pearce obſerves, that Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in B. viii. 621. " and without love no happineſs."

Ver. 515. ——— *Knowledge forbidden?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan, as if ſome uſeful and neceſſary knowledge was forbidden: Whereas our firſt parents were created with perfect underſtanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden, was the knowledge of evil by the commiſſion of it. NEWTON.

To keep them low, whom knowledge might exalt
Equal with Gods: aſpiring to be ſuch,
They taſte and die: What likelier can enſue?
But firſt with narrow ſearch I muſt walk round
This garden, and no corner leave unſpied;
A chance but chance may lead where I may meet
Some wandering Spirit of Heaven by fountain ſide,
Or in thick ſhade retir'd, from him to draw
What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
Short pleaſures, for long woes are to ſucceed.
So ſaying, his proud ſtep he ſcornful turn'd,
But with ſly circumſpection, and began
Through wood, through waſte, o'er hill, o'er dale, his roam.

Ver. 530. *A chance but chance may lead*] Dr. Bentley cenſures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at ſo ſerious a juncture, to catch at puns; therefore propoſes to read, "*ſome lucky chance may lead* &c." Dr. Pearce ſays that without any alteration, or any pun, we may read

"*A chance (but chance) may lead* &c."

that is, *a chance*, and it can be only *a chance, may lead* &c. But this ſort of jingle is but too common with Milton. This here is not much unlike the *ſorte fortuna* of the Latins.

NEWTON.

Ver. 536. ——— *his* proud ſtep *he ſcornful* turn'd,] Pope, *Odyſſ.* xvii. 304.

"So ſpoke the wretch; but, ſhunning farther fray,
"*Turn'd his proud ſtep*, and left them on their way."

Mean while in utmoſt longitude, where Heaven
With earth and ocean meets, the ſetting ſun
Slowly deſcended, and with right aſpéct
Againſt the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe
Levell'd his evening rays: It was a rock
Of alabaſter, pil'd up to the clouds,
Conſpicuous far, winding with one aſcent
Acceſſible from earth, one entrance high;
The reſt was craggy cliff, that overhung
Still as it roſe, impoſſible to climb.
Betwixt theſe rocky pillars Gabriel ſat,

Ver. 539. ——— *in utmoſt longitude,*] At the utmoſt length, at the fartheſt diſtance. *Longitude* is *length* in B. v. 754; and it is particularly applied to *the diſtance from eaſt to weſt* in B. iii. 576. NEWTON.

Ver. 541. *Slowly deſcended,*] Dr. Bentley objects to this verſe for a frivolous reaſon, and reads "*Had low deſcended,*" becauſe the ſun paſſes equal ſpaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philoſophy, but in poetry it is uſual to repreſent it otherwiſe. But I have a ſtronger objection to this verſe, which is, that it ſeems to contradict what is ſaid before, ver. 353.

"The ſun—was *haſting now with prone carcer*
"To the ocean iſles,"

and to reconcile them I think we muſt read "*Had low deſcended,*" or perhaps "*Lowly deſcended,*" or underſtand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the ſun deſcended *ſlowly* at this time, becauſe Uriel, its Angel, came on a ſun-beam to Paradiſe, and was to return on the ſame beam; which he could not well have done, if the ſun had moved on with its uſual rapidity of courſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 549. ——— *Gabriel*] One of the Arch-Angels ſent to ſhow Daniel the viſion of the four monarchies and the ſeventy weeks, *Dan.* vii. and ix; and to the Virgin Mary

Chief of the angelick guards, awaiting night;
About him exercis'd heroick games
The unarmed youth of Heaven, but nigh at hand
Celeſtial armoury, ſhields, helms, and ſpears,
Hung high, with diamond flaming, and with gold.
Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even

to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, *Luke* i. His name in the Hebrew ſignifies *the man of God*, or *the ſtrength and power of God*; well by our author poſted as chief of the angelick guards placed about Paradiſe. HUME.

Ver. 551. ——————— *heroick games*] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employed themſelves in theſe noble exerciſes. So the ſoldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and ſo the infernal Spirits, when their Chief was gone in ſearch of the new creation, B. ii. 528.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 555. ——————— *gliding through the even*] That is, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, through that part of the hemiſphere, where it was then evening.

And, as Dr. Bentley had objected to evening as a place of ſpace to glide through, Mr. Richardſon remarks that Uriel arrives from the *ſun's decline*, v. 792, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and juſtified by Virgil, where a ſwarm of bees ſail through the glowing ſummer, *Georg.* iv. 59.

" Nare per æſtatem liquidam ſuſpexeris agmen."

Ibid. ——————— *gliding through the even*
On a ſun-beam,] He alſo *returns* to his charge *on that bright beam*, v. 590. This thought has been ſuſpected of imitation, as a prettineſs below the genius of Milton. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might poſſibly be hinted by a Picture of Annibal Caracci in the king of France's cabinet: But I am apt to believe that Milton had been ſtruck with a Portrait in Shirley,

On a ſun-beam, ſwift as a ſhooting ſtar
In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fir'd
Impreſs the air, and ſhows the mariner
From what point of his compaſs to beware
Impetuous winds: He thus began in haſte.

Fernando, in the comedy of the *Brothers*, 1652, deſcribes Jacinta at veſpers:

" Her eye did ſeem to labour with a tear,
" Which ſuddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd
" With its own ſwelling, drop'd upon her boſome;
" Which, by reflexion of her light, appear'd
" As nature meant her ſorrow for an ornament;
" After, her looks grew chearfull, and I ſaw
" A ſmile ſhoot graceſull upward from her eyes,
" As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief;
" And with it many *beams* twiſted themſelves,
" Upon whoſe *golden threads* the *Angels* walk
" *To and again from Heaven.*" FARMER.

The fiction of Uriel's deſcent and aſcent by a ſun-beam, is in Drayton's *Legend of Rob. D. of Normandy*, ſt. 43.

" As on the *ſun-beams* glorioufly I ride,
" By them I *mount*, and down by them I *ſlide.*"

Young has adapted this idea to his own peculiar caſt of conception, and of compoſition, *N. Thought*, ix.

" Perhaps a thouſand demigods *deſcend*
" On every *beam* we ſee, to walk with men." WARTON.

Or perhaps Milton had in mind what Sandys relates of the traditions of the Jews reſpecting our Saviour, in his *Travels*, ed. 1615. p. 147. " They ſay that he got into the Sanctum Sanctorum, and, taking from thence the powerfull names of God, did ſew them in his thigh: By vertue whereof he went inuiſible, *rid on the Sunne beames*, raiſed the dead to life, and effected like wonders."

Ver. 556. ——— *ſwift as a ſhooting ſtar*] See note on *Comus* v. 89.

Gabriel, to thee thy courſe by lot hath given
Charge and ſtrict watch, that to this happy place
No evil thing approach or enter in.
This day at highth of noon came to my ſphere
A Spirit, zealous, as he ſeem'd, to know
More of the Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
God's lateſt image: I deſcrib'd his way
Bent all on ſpeed, and mark'd his aery gait;
But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
Where he firſt lighted, ſoon diſcern'd his looks
Alien from Heaven, with paſſions foul obſcur'd:
Mine eye purſued him ſtill, but under ſhade
Loſt ſight of him: One of the baniſh'd crew,
I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raiſe
New troubles; him thy care muſt be to find.

To whom the winged warriour thus return'd.
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect ſight,
Amid the ſun's bright circle where thou ſitſt,
See far and wide: In at this gate none paſs
The vigilance here plac'd, but ſuch as come
Well known from Heaven; and ſince meridian hour
No creature thence: If Spirit of other ſort,
So minded, have o'er-leap'd theſe earthy bounds
On purpoſe, hard thou know'ſt it to exclude

Ver. 563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Not to ſuffer any evil thing to approach, or *at leaſt* to enter in. PEARCE.

Ver. 567. *God's lateſt image:*] For the firſt was Chriſt; and before Man were the Angels. So, in B. iii. 151, Man is called God's *youngeſt ſon*. NEWTON.

Spiritual ſubſtance with corporeal bar.
But if within the circuit of theſe walks,
In whatſoever ſhape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'ſt, by morrow dawning I ſhall know.
So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whoſe point now rais'd
Bore him ſlope downward to the ſun now fall'n
Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how ſwift, had thither roll'd
Diurnal, or this leſs volúbil earth,
By ſhorter flight to the eaſt, had left him there
Arraying with reflected purple and gold

Ver. 592. ——— *the Azores*;] Nine iſlands in the great Atlantick or Weſtern ocean, commonly called the *Terceras*, from Tercera, the largeſt of them. Some confound the *Canaries* with them. HUME.

Ibid. ——— *whether the prime orb*, &c.] *Whether*, not *whither* as in Milton's own editions, the ſun *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is, in a day's time, with an incredible ſwift motion; *or this leſs volúbil earth, by ſhorter flight to the eaſt, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a leſs motion for the earth to move from weſt to eaſt upon its own axis according to the ſyſtem of Copernicus, than for the heavens and heavenly bodies to move from eaſt to weſt according to the ſyſtem of Ptolemy.

Milton, in like manner, queſtions whether the ſun was in the center of the world or not, B. iii. 575: So ſcrupulous was he in declaring for any ſyſtem of philoſophy. NEWTON.

Ver. 594. ——— *this leſs* volúbil *earth*,] *Volúbil*, with the ſecond ſyllable long, as it is in the Latin *volubilis*. He writes it *voluble*, when he makes the ſecond ſyllable ſhort, as in B. ix. 436. NEWTON.

The clouds that on his weſtern throne attend.
Now came ſtill Evening on, and Twilight gray

Ver. 598. *Now came ſtill Evening on*, &c.] This is the firſt evening in the poem; for, the action of the preceding books lying out of the ſphere of the ſun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came firſt to the earth, and made that famous ſoliloquy at the beginning of this book, the ſun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and ſurely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furniſh out a more lovely deſcription. The greateſt poets in all ages have as it were vied one with another, in their deſcriptions of evening and night; but, for the variety of numbers and pleaſing images, I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treaſures of ancient or modern Poetry. NEWTON.

Taſſo ſays ſublimely of the night,

——"Uſci la Notte, è ſotto l'ali
"Menò il ſilentio."

Milton has here given a paraphraſe of this paſſage, but very much below his original. The ſtriking part of Taſſo's picture, is "*Night's bringing in Silence under her wings.*" So new and ſingular an idea as this had detected an imitation. Milton contents himſelf then, with ſaying ſimply, "*Silence accompanied.*" However, to make amends, as he thought, for this defect, *Night itſelf*, which the Italian had merely perſonized, the Engliſh poet not only perſonizes, but employs in a very becoming office:

"Now came ſtill Evening on, and Twilight gray
"Had in her ſober livery all things clad;"

Every body will obſerve a little blemiſh, in this fine couplet. He ſhould not have uſed the epithet "*ſtill*," when he intended to add,

"*Silence* accompanied;"

But there is a worſe fault in this *imitation*. To hide it, he ſpeaks of "*Night's livery*." When he had done that, to ſpeak of her *wings* had been ungraceful. Therefore he is forced to ſay obſcurely, as well as *ſimply*, "*Silence accompanied;*" And

Had in her ſober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beaſt and bird,
They to their graſſy couch, theſe to their neſts

ſo loſes a more noble image for a leſs noble one. The truth is, they would not ſtand together. *Livery* belongs to *human grandeur*; *wings* to *divine* or *celeſtial*. So that in Milton's very attempt to ſurpaſs his original, he put it out of his power to employ the *circumſtance* that moſt recommended it. HURD.

Ibid. —— *Twilight gray*] Milton is very ſingular in the frequent and particular notice which he takes of the *twilight*, whenever he has occaſion to ſpeak of the evening. I do not remember to have met with the ſame in any other poet; and yet there is, to be ſure, ſomething ſo agreeable in that ſoft and gentle light, and ſuch a peculiar fragrance attends it in the ſummer months, that it is a circumſtance which adds great beauty to his deſcription. I have often thought that the weakneſs of our poet's eyes, to which this kind of light muſt be vaſtly pleaſant, might be the reaſon that he ſo often introduces the mention of it. THYER.

Pope has adopted the expreſſion, *Odyſſ.* iii. 422.

" And *Twilight gray* her evening ſhade extends."

Ver. 599. *Had in her* ſober livery *all things* clad;] So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſl.* c. vi. ſt. 54.

" The world late *cloth'd* in *Night's* black *livery*."

Again, c. viii. ſt. 5, " *Night's* ſad *livery*:" Where *ſad* has the ſame meaning as *ſober*; as the word is uſed by Spenſer and Shakſpeare. " *Night's livorie*" is alſo a phraſe in Sir R. Tempeſt's *Entertainment of Solitarineſſe*, 1649, p. 15.

There are two lines in one of Shakſpeare's *Sonnets*, which Mr. Malone thinks that Milton might here remember:

" Nor that full ſtar, that uſhers in the *even*,
" Doth half that glory to the *ſober* weſt."

Ver. 601. ——————— *theſe to their neſts*
Were ſlunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;]
Thus, in *England's Parnaſſus*, p. 340, where evening is deſcribed by Dr. Lodge:

Were ſlunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous deſcant ſung;
Silence was pleas'd: Now glow'd the firmament
With living ſapphires: Heſperus, that led
The ſtarry hoſt, rode brighteſt, till the moon,
Riſing in clouded majeſty, at length
Apparent queen unveil'd her peerleſs light,

——"and every bird was ſtill,
"Save Philomene that did bemone her ill." BOWLE.

Ver. 603. ——— *her amorous* deſcant *ſung*;] This muſical term is often applied to the nightingale. Mr. Bowle gives an inſtance from Gaſcoigne's *Philomene*, v. 5.

"Late in an even I walked out alone,
"To heare the *deſcant* of the nightingale."

The following deſcription of nightingales ſinging alternately, may be added from Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* p. 105.

"The firſt replyes, and *deſcants* thereupon."

Iſaac Walton, in his *Complete Angler*, explains the propriety of this term: "He, that at midnight ſhould hear, as I have often done, the ſweet DESCANTS, *the natural riſing and falling, the doubling and redoubling*, of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above earth." The nightingale's voice is thus termed by Euripides ΠΟΛΥΧΟΡΔΑΤΗ, *Rheſus*, v. 548.

Ver. 604. *Silence was pleas'd:*] This perſonification is taken, though it happens not to be obſerved by any of the commentators, from the *Hero and Leander* of Muſæus, v. 280.

* DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 605. ——— *Heſperus, that* led
The ſtarry hoſt,] Spenſer, in his *Epithalamion*, thus addreſſes the evening-ſtar;

"Faire child of beauty, glorious lampe of love,
"That all the *hoſt of heaven* in ranks doſt *lead*, &c."

BOWLE.

And o'er the dark her ſilver mantle threw.
When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Conſort, the hour
Of night, and all things now retir'd to reſt,
Mind us of like repoſe; ſince God hath ſet
Labour and reſt, as day and night, to men
Succeſſive; and the timely dew of ſleep,
Now falling with ſoft ſlumbrous weight, inclines
Our eye-lids: Other creatures all day long
Rove idle, unemploy'd, and leſs need reſt;
Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heaven on all his ways;
While other animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account.
To-morrow, ere freſh morning ſtreak the eaſt
With firſt approach of light, we muſt be riſen,
And at our pleaſant labour, to reform
Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our ſcant manuring, and require
More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:

Ver. 614. ——— *the timely dew of ſleep*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Pens.* v. 147.

Ver. 627. *Our* walk] In the firſt edition *walks*; but in the ſecond, and all following, *walk*. NEWTON.

Ver. 628. *That mock our ſcant* manuring,] *Manuring* is not here to be underſtood in the common ſenſe, but as working with hands; as the French *manœuvre*: It is, as immediately after, *to lop, to rid away what is ſcattered*. RICHARDSON.

Thoſe bloſſoms alſo, and thoſe dropping gums,
That lie beſtrown, unſightly and unſmooth,
Aſk riddance, if we mean to tread with eaſe;
Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us reſt.
To whom thus Eve, with perfect beauty adorn'd.
My Author and Diſpoſer, what thou bidſt
Unargued I obey: So God ordains;
God is thy law, thou mine: To know no more
Is woman's happieſt knowledge, and her praiſe.
With thee converſing I forget all time;
All ſeaſons, and their change, all pleaſe alike.
Sweet is the breath of Morn, her riſing ſweet,

Ver. 640. *All ſeaſons,*] The ſeaſons of the day, and not of the year; for Eve, in the following charming lines, mentions *morning*, *evening*, *night*; the times of the day, and not the ſeaſons of the year. NEWTON.

Ver. 641. *Sweet is the breath of morn,*] "The *breath* of "morn" was ſuggeſted probably by the original paſſage in *Solomon's Song*, ii. 17. "Till the day *breathe*;" which in our tranſlation of the Bible is rendered, leſs poetically, "Till the "day *break*."

Ibid. *Sweet is the breath of Morn, her riſing ſweet,*
With charm of earlieſt birds;] Milton's fancy, as uſual, is here rich and exuberant; but the conduct and application of his imagery ſhows, that the whole paſſage was ſhadowed out of thoſe charming but ſimple lines in the *Danae* of Euripides:

——— φίλον μὲν φῶς τόδε.
Καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμα· ἰδεῖν εὐήμερον,
Γῆ τ' ἐρινὼν θάλλουσα, πλάσιόν θ' ὕδωρ,
Πολλῶν τ' ἄκαιρον ἐς μοι λέξαι καλῶν.
Ἀλλ' ὦδε χρὴ ἔτω λαμπρὸν, ὧδ' ἰδεῖν, καλὸν,
Ὡς, τοῖς ἄφασιν, καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις,
Παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος. HURD.

With charm of earlieſt birds; pleaſant the ſun,
When firſt on this delightful land he ſpreads
His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Gliſtering with dew; fragrant the fertile earth
After ſoft ſhowers; and ſweet the coming on
Of grateful Evening mild; then ſilent Night,
With this her ſolemn bird, and this fair moon,
And theſe the gems of Heaven, her ſtarry train:
But neither breath of Morn, when ſhe aſcends
With charm of earlieſt birds; nor riſing ſun
On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,

Mr. Warton thinks that Milton had, here, the eighth *Idyllium* of Theocritus in view:

Ἀδὺ τὰ φωνὰ τᾶς πόρτιος, ἀδὺ τὸ πνεῦμα·
Ἀδὺ δὲ χὠ μύσχος γαρύεται, ἀδὺ δὲ χἁ βῶς,
Ἀδὺ δὲ τῶ θερέος παρ' ὕδωρ ῥέον αἰθριεκεστίν.

Ver. 645. ——————— *fragrant the fertile earth*
After ſhort ſhow'rs;] Thus, in Sir P. Sidney's "Remedie for Love," *Arcad.* 13th edit. at the end;

"And ſweet, as after gentle ſhowers
"The breath is of ſome thouſand flowers."

Ver. 648. *With this her* ſolemn *bird*,] The nightingale, "moſt muſical, moſt *melancholy*." She is called "the *ſolemn* "nightingale," B. vii. 435. NEWTON.

Ver. 649. *And theſe the* gems *of Heaven*,] In Spenſer's *Hymn to heavenly Love*, the *Heaven* is "adorned with ten thouſand *gems* of ſhining gold." And the *ſun* is ſtyled, in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, p. 84, "*Heaven's* richeſt *gemm*." See alſo Pope's *Odyſſey*, xv. 123.

"Like radiant Heſper o'er the *gems of night*."

Which reſembles Ben Jonſon's phraſe, *Underwoods*, 1640. p. 251.

"The ſtarres that are the *jewels of the night*."

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Gliſtering with dew; nor fragrance after ſhowers;
Nor grateful Evening mild; nor ſilent Night,
With this her ſolemn bird, nor walk by moon,
Or glittering ſtar-light, without thee is ſweet.
But wherefore all night long ſhine theſe? for whom
This glorious ſight, when ſleep hath ſhut all eyes?
To whom our general anceſtor replied.
Daughter of God and Man, accompliſh'd Eve,
Theſe have their courſe to finiſh round the earth,
By morrow evening, and from land to land
In order, though to nations yet unborn,

Ver. 660. *Daughter of God and Man, accompliſh'd Eve,*] Pope, in his excellent notes upon Homer, B. i. ver. 97 obſerves, that thoſe appellations of praiſe and honour, with which the heroes in Homer ſo frequently ſalute each other, were agreeable to the ſtyle of the ancient times, as appears from ſeveral of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this caſt of antiquity, throughout which our firſt parents almoſt always accoſt each other with ſome title, that expreſſes a reſpect to the dignity of human nature. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. Theſe *have their courſe*] I have preſumed to make a ſmall alteration here in the text, and read *Theſe*, though in moſt other editions, and even in Milton's own, I find *Thoſe*: Becauſe it is ſaid before, ver. 657.

" But wherefore all night long ſhine *theſe?*"

and afterwards, ver. 674.

" *Theſe* then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
" Shine not in vain;"

both which paſſages evince that *Theſe* here is an errour of the preſs. NEWTON.

I find this judicious alteration of the text, firſt, in Tonſon's duodecimo edition of 1746.

Miniſtring light prepar'd, they ſet and riſe;
Leſt total Darkneſs ſhould by night regain
Her old poſſeſſion, and extinguiſh life
In Nature and all things; which theſe ſoft fires
Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nouriſh, or in part ſhed down
Their ſtellar virtue on all kinds that grow

Ver. 671. *Their ſtellar virtue*] As Milton was an univerſal ſcholar, ſo he had not a little affectation of ſhowing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam diſcourſe here ſomewhat like an adept in aſtrology, which was too much the philoſophy of his own times. What he ſays afterwards of numberleſs ſpiritual creatures walking the earth unſeen, and joining in praiſes to their great Creator, is of a nobler ſtrain; more agreeable to reaſon and revelation, as well as more pleaſing to the imagination; and ſeems to be an imitation and improvement of Heſiod's notion of good genii, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wandering every where through the earth. See *Heſiod*, l. 120—125. NEWTON.

Perhaps Milton adverted to Craſhaw, rather than to Heſiod: See his *Sacred Poems*, p. 52. 1652.

" Alas, ſweet Lord, what wer't to thee,
" If there were no ſuch wormes as we?
" Heauen ne'er the leſſe ſtill heauen would be——
" Still would the youthfull Spirits ſing;
" And ſtill thy ſpatious Palace ring.
" Still would thoſe beauteous miniſters of light
" Burn all as bright,
" And bow their flaming heads before thee;
" Still Thrones and Dominations would adore thee.
" Still would thoſe euer-wakefull Sons of fire
" Keep warm thy prayſe
" Both nights and dayes,
" And teach thy lou'd name to their noble lyre."

On earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the ſun's more potent ray.
Theſe then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
That Heaven would want ſpectators, God want praiſe:
Millions of ſpiritual creatures walk the earth
Unſeen, both when we wake, and when we ſleep:
All theſe with ceaſeleſs praiſe his works behold
Both day and night: How often from the ſteep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celeſtial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or reſponſive each to others note,
Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heavenly touch of inſtrumental ſounds
In full harmonick number join'd, their ſongs

Ver. 682. *Celeſtial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing to the midnight air. So, in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 57.

——" *canet* frondator *ad auras.*"

For, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, there ſhould be a comma after *note*, that the conſtruction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air.* And this notion of their ſinging thus by night, is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, iv. 586.

" Quorum noctivago ſtrepitu, ludoque jocanti,
" Adfirmant volgò taciturna ſilentia rumpi,
" Chordarumque ſonos fieri, dulcéſque querelas,
" Tibia quas fundit digitis pulſata canentum."

NEWTON.

Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.
Thus talking hand in hand alone they paſs'd
On to their bliſsful bower: it was a place
Chos'n by the ſovran Planter, when he fram'd
All things to Man's delightful uſe; the roof
Of thickeſt covert was inwoven ſhade
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either ſide
Acanthus, and each odorous buſhy ſhrub,
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roſes, and jeſſamin,
Rear'd high their flouriſh'd heads between, and wrought
Moſaick; underfoot the violet,

Ver. 688. *Divide the night,*] Into watches; as the trumpet did among the ancients, ſounding as the watch was relieved; which was called, *dividing the night*. Sil. Italic. *Pun.* vii. 154.

——————" cùm buccina *noctem*
" *Divideret.*" RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *and lift our thoughts to Heaven.*] Drummond, in his *Flowers of Sion*, has a ſimilar phraſe, addreſſing the nightingale:

" What ſoul can be ſo ſick, which by thy ſongs
" (Attir'd in ſweetneſs) ſweetly is not driuen
" Quite to forget earth's turmoiles, ſpites, and wrongs,
" And *lift* a reverent eye and *thought to heauen?*"

See alſo Shakſpeare, *Henry VIII.* A. ii. S. ii.

" Make of your prayers one ſweet ſacrifice,
" And *lift my ſoul to heaven.*"

Ver. 700. ——— *underfoot the violet,*
Crocus, and hyacinth,] Milton has taken this

Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with ſtone
Of coſtlieſt emblem: Other creature here,
Bird, beaſt, inſect, or worm, durſt enter none,
Such was their awe of Man. In ſhadier bower

from Homer, who makes the ſame ſort of flowers to ſpring up under Jupiter and Juno, on Mount Ida, *Il.* xiv. 347. Where Pope remarks, that, in Milton, the very turn of Homer's verſes is obſerved, and the cadence, and almoſt the words, finely tranſlated:

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
Λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα, ἰδὲ κρόκον, ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν· ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργε. NEWTON.

Ver. 702. Broider'd *the ground,*] See note on *Comus*, v. 233.

Tonſon's edition of 1711 reads, "*Border'd* the ground;" an alteration ſuggeſted perhaps by B. ix. 438, "flowers *imborder'd* "on each bank." But *broider'd* is, here, the reading of Milton's own editions.

Ver. 703. *Of coſtlieſt* emblem:] *Emblem* is here in the Greek and Latin ſenſe for inlaid floors of ſtone or wood, to make figures mathematical or pictural:

"Arte pavimenti atque *emblemate* vermiculato." BENTLEY.

The word *emblems* is expreſsly uſed for *inlays*, in Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, 1610, p. 49.

Ibid. ——— *Other creature here,*
Bird, beaſt, inſect, or worm, durſt enter none,] This ſeems to be an imitation of Callimachus, *Hymn. in Jov.* v. 10.

——— ἔνθεν ὁ χῶρος
Ἱερός· οὐδέ τί μιν κεχρημένον εἰλειθυίης
Ἔρχεται—

Ver. 705. ——— *In* ſhadier *bower*] So it is in the firſt edition: In the ſecond we read "In *ſhadie* bower," but with ſuch a ſpace as is not uſual between two words, as if

More ſacred and ſequeſter'd, though but feign'd,
Pan or Sylvanus never ſlept, nor Nymph
Nor Faunus haunted. Here, in cloſe receſs,
With flowers, garlands, and ſweet-ſmelling herbs,
Eſpouſed Eve deck'd firſt her nuptial bed;
And heavenly quires the hymenæan ſung,
What day the genial Angel to our ſire
Brought her, in naked beauty more adorn'd,
More lovely, than Pandora, whom the Gods
Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like
In ſad event, when to the unwiſer ſon

the letter *r* had occupied the room, and by ſome accident had made no impreſſion. "In *ſhadier* bower" marks more ſtrongly the ſhadineſs as well as the retiredneſs of the place; and the ſhadineſs is a principal circumſtance of the deſcription. The *bower* is ſeldom mentioned but it is called *ſhady*. See B. iii. 734, iv. 137, v. 367. NEWTON.

Ver. 714. *More lovely, than Pandora*, &c.] The ſtory is this. Prometheus, the ſon of *Japhet*, had ſtolen fire from Heaven, Jove's *authentick fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be revenged ſent him *Pandora*, ſo called becauſe all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for ſo the word ſignifies). She was brought by *Hermes*, but was not received by Prometheus the wiſer ſon of *Japhet* (as the name implies), but by his brother Epimetheus, *the unwiſer ſon*. She enticed his fooliſh curioſity to open a box which ſhe brought, wherein were contained all manner of evils. RICHARDSON.

The epithet *unwiſer* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwiſe. Milton uſes *unwiſer*, as any Latin writer would *imprudentior*, for *not ſo wiſe as he ſhould have been*. So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*, *iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par eſt*, than is right and fit, and imply leſs than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the poſitive degree. JORTIN.

Of Japhet brought by Hermes, ſhe enſnar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had ſtole Jove's authentick fire.
Thus, at their ſhady lodge arriv'd, both ſtood,
Both turn'd, and under open ſky ador'd
The God that made both ſky, air, earth, and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's reſplendent globe,
And ſtarry pole: Thou alſo mad'ſt the night,
Maker Omnipotent, and thou the day,
Which we, in our appointed work employ'd,
Have finiſh'd, happy in our mutual help
And mutual love, the crown of all our bliſs

Ver. 723. ——— *the moon's reſplendent globe,*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. "Lucentémque globum lunæ." HUME.

Ver. 724. ——— Thou *alſo mad'ſt the night,*] Addiſon mentions the inſtance, in Homer, of Hector being firſt named, and then of a ſudden introduced as ſpeaking, without any notice given that he does ſo. But the tranſition here in Milton is of another ſort: It is firſt ſpeaking *of* a perſon, and then ſuddenly turning the diſcourſe, and ſpeaking *to* him. So, in the hymn to Hercules, Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 291.

——— "ut duros mille labores
"Pertulerit. *Tu* nubigenas, invicte, &c." NEWTON.

I am inclined to think that Milton here had in view the ſeventy-fourth *Pſalm*. For the hymn of our firſt parents commences with the acknowledgement of God's power, made by David in the 16th verſe, "The day is thine, the night alſo is thine:" And, in the 14th verſe, God is thus addreſſed, "For God is my king of old; the help that is done upon earth, *he* doeth it *himſelf*." Then follows immediately a tranſition from the *third perſon* to the *ſecond*, in the five ſucceeding verſes: "*Thou* didſt divide the ſea, &c."

Ordain'd by thee; and this delicious place
For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
But thou haſt promis'd from us two a race
To fill the earth, who ſhall with us extol
Thy goodneſs infinite, both when we wake,
And when we ſeek, as now, thy gift of ſleep.
This ſaid unanimous, and other rites
Obſerving none, but adoration pure
Which God likes beſt, into their inmoſt bower
Handed they went; and, eas'd the putting off
Theſe troubleſome diſguiſes which we wear,
Straight ſide by ſide were laid; nor turn'd, I ween,

Ver. 729. ——— *and this delicious place*] We may underſtand the paſſage with Dr. Pearce thus; "And *thou mad'ſt* this delicious place:" Or, with Mr. Richardſon, thus; "Happy in our mutual help, and mutual love, the chief of all our bliſs, thy gift; and *happy in* this delicious Paradiſe:" Or thus; "Happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the crown of all our bliſs, and *of* this delicious place." NEWTON.

I conceive Mr. Richardſon's explanation to be the poet's meaning.

Ver. 735. ——— thy *gift of ſleep*.] Dr. Bentley reads "*the* gift," and obſerves that it is word for word from Homer, who has frequently ὕπνον δῶρον. But "*thy* gift," is right; for, in v. 612, Milton ſays, that "God hath ſet labour and reſt to men ſucceſſive:" therefore *ſleep* is *God's* gift. And Virgil, whom Milton oftener imitates than Homer, ſays of ſleep, *Æn.* ii. 269.

——— "*dono divûm* gratiſſima ſerpit." PEARCE.

The authenticity of Milton's reading requires not the ſupport of heathen illuſtration, when it is expreſsly ſaid in the 127th *Pſalm*, "He *giveth* his beloved *ſleep*."

Adam from his fair ſpouſe, nor Eve the rites
Myſterious of connubial love refus'd:
Whatever hypocrites auſterely talk
Of purity, and place, and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to ſome, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids encreaſe; who bids abſtain
But our Deſtroyer, foe to God and Man?
Hail, wedded Love, myſterious law, true ſource
Of human offſpring, ſole propriety
In Paradiſe of all things common elſe.
By thee adulterous Luſt was driven from men

Ver. 744. *Whatever hypocrites* &c.] Milton calls thoſe, who, under a notion of greater purity and perfection, decry and forbid marriage, as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and ſays afterwards, that is the *doctrine of our Deſtroyer*, in alluſion to I. *Tim.* iv. 1, 2, 3. NEWTON.

Ver. 750. *Hail, wedded Love,* &c.] An ingenious friend has informed me, that this addreſs to wedded Love is borrowed from one of Taſſo's letters; "*O dol e congiuntione de' cuori, o "ſoave unione de gli animi noſtri, o legitimo nodo,* &c." The quotation would ſwell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who underſtands Italian, may, if he pleaſe, compare the original with our author, and he will eaſily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting ſome circumſtances, as in imitating others. It is in one of Taſſo's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Taſſo, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— myſterious *law,*] That is, including a *myſtery* in it; in the ſame ſenſe as "*myſterious* rites" are ſpoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul calling matrimony a *myſtery*, *Epheſ.* v. 32. PEARCE.

Ver. 753. By thee *adulterous Luſt was driven* &c.] The turn of the words in this beautiful addreſs to wedded Love, renders it

Among the beſtial herds to range; by thee
Founded in reaſon, loyal, juſt, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, ſon, and brother, firſt were known.
Far be it, that I ſhould write thee ſin or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holieſt place,
Perpetual fountain of domeſtick ſweets,
Whoſe bed is undefil'd and chaſte pronounc'd,

probable that Milton might have peruſed another Italian eulogy on the ſubject, which Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, has noted, p. 91. " O matrimonio felice e ſanto s' io haveſſe parole uguali à le tue lode mai di commendarti non ſe ne vedrebbe ſtanca la voce mia. *Per te* è per mai ſempre la vita glorioſa e lieta: *per te* gli' huomini ſi fanno ſempiterni e glorioſi. Viva dunque, viva il matrimonio: e chi diſidera di vivere e morire contento e beato elegga per il vero e unico mezzo il matrimonio."

I beg leave to add, that there is an eulogy on matrimony in the fifteenth Canto of Murtola's " *Creatione del Mondo*, 1608;" of which poem ſee an account in my note, B. v. 689.

Ver. 756. ——— *and all the* charities] *Charities* is uſed in the Latin ſignification, and, like *caritates*, comprehends all the relations, all the endearments of conſanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero *de Officiis*, i. 17. " Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; ſed omnes omnium *caritates* patria una complexa eſt." It is uſed likewiſe in this manner in the Italian, and by Taſſo in the place which our author is here imitating: " *Ma la* charita *del figlivolo, e del padre.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 761. *Whoſe bed is undefil'd and chaſte pronounc'd,*] In alluſion to *Heb.* xiii. 4. " *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.*" And Milton muſt have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And though this panegyrick upon wedded Love may be condemned as a digreſſion, yet it can hardly be called a digreſſion, when it grows ſo naturally out of the ſubject, and is introduced ſo pro-

Preſent, or paſt, as ſaints and patriarchs us'd.
Here Love his golden ſhafts employs, here lights
His conſtant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
Reigns here and revels; not in the bought ſmile
Of harlots, loveleſs, joyleſs, unendear'd,
Caſual fruition; nor in court-amours,
Mix'd dance, or wanton maſk, or midnight ball,
Or ſerenate, which the ſtarv'd lover ſings
To his proud fair, beſt quitted with diſdain.
Theſe, lull'd by nightingales, embracing ſlept,
And on their naked limbs the flowery roof

perly; while the action of the poem is in a manner ſuſpended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to ſleep: And if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by ſuch digreſſions as this, and that upon hypocriſy at the latter part of the third book. NEWTON.

Ver. 763. *Here Love his golden ſhafts employs*, &c.] See Mr. Warton's note, *Eleg.* vii. 47.

Ver. 765. *Reigns here and revels;*] What our author here ſays of marriage, Marino applies in the ſame terms to Venus in his deſcription of her, *Adon.* cant. ii. ſt. 114. and it is probable, that Milton alluded to this and other ſuch extravagances of the poets, and meant to ſay, that what they had extravagantly and falſely applied to looſe wanton love, was really true of that paſſion in its ſtate of innocence.

"Quiui Amor ſi traſtulla, e quindi impera." THYER.

Ver. 769. *Or* ſerenate, *which the* ſtarv'd *lover ſings*] We commonly ſay *ſerenade*, with the French; but Milton keeps, as uſual, the Italian word, *ſerenate*; which the *ſtarv'd* lover ſings, *ſtarv'd*, as this compliment was commonly paid *in ſereno*, in clear *cold* nights. Horace mentions this circumſtance, *Od.* III. x. 1.

NEWTON.

Shower'd roſes, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
Bleſt pair; and O yet happieſt, if ye ſeek
No happier ſtate, and know to know no more.
Now had night meaſur'd with her ſhadowy cone
Half way up hill this vaſt ſublunar vault,
And from their ivory port the Cherubim,

Ver. 773. *Shower'd roſes,*] So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* B. 44. ſt. 29.

" And damſels from the windowes high and towres,
" To gratulate their proſperous deeds and haps,
" Caſt *ſhowres of roſes* from their tender laps."

Ver. 776. *Now had night meaſur'd with her ſhadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and, leſſening all the way, ends in a point. This is the form of the ſhadow of the earth; the baſe of the cone ſtanding upon that ſide of the globe where the ſun is not, and conſequently when it is night there. This cone, to thoſe who are on the darkened ſide of the earth, could it be ſeen, would mount as the ſun fell lower, and be at its utmoſt highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The ſhadowy cone had now ariſen half way, conſequently ſuppoſing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length (as it was B. x. 329,) it muſt be now about nine o'clock, the uſual time of the Angels ſetting their ſentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 777. *Half way up hill*] The expreſſion is ſomething dark, but it is right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night; *the accuſtom'd hour* for the firſt military watch to take their rounds. Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, i. ii. 1.

' Phœbus was climbing up the eaſtern hill." BENTLEY.

Ver. 778. *And from their ivory port* &c.] We cannot conceive that here is any alluſion to the ivory gate of ſleep, men-

Forth iſſuing at the accuſtom'd hour, ſtood arm'd
To their night watches in warlike parade;
When Gabriel to his next in power thus ſpake.
Uzziel, half theſe draw off, and coaſt the ſouth
With ſtricteſt watch; theſe other wheel the north;
Our circuit meets full weſt. As flame they part,
Half wheeling to the ſhield, half to the ſpear.

tioned by Homer and Virgil, from whence falſe dreams proceeded; for the poet could never intend to inſinuate that, what he was ſaying about the angelick guards, was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaſter, ver. 543, ſo he makes the gate of ivory, which was very proper for an eaſtern gate, as the fineſt ivory comes from the eaſt; "*India mittit ebur,*" Virg. *Georg.* i. 57: And houſes and palaces of ivory are mentioned as inſtances of magnificence in Scripture, as are likewiſe doors of ivory in Ovid, *Met.* iv. 185.

"Lemnius extemplo *valvas* patefecit *eburnas.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 782. *Uzziel,*] The next commanding Angel to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is *the ſtrength of God*, as all God's mighty Angels are. HUME.

Ver. 784. ——— *As flame they part,*] This break in the verſe is excellently adapted to the ſubject. They part, as the flame divides into ſeparate wreaths. A ſhort ſimile, but expreſſive of their quickneſs and rapidity, and of their brightneſs and the ſplendour of their armour at the ſame time. Homer, in the ſecond book of the *Iliad*, compares the march of the Trojans to the flame; but this ſimile is better ſuited to thoſe beings, of whom the Scripture ſays, "*He maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 785. *Half wheeling to the ſhield, half to the ſpear.*] "*Declinare ad haſtam vel ad ſcutum.*" Livy. To wheel to the right or left. HUME.

As all the Angels ſtood in the eaſtern gate, their right hand was to the north, *to the ſpear*; their left hand to the ſouth, *to*

From theſe, two ſtrong and ſubtle Spirits he call'd
That near him ſtood, and gave them thus in charge.
Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd ſpeed
Search through this garden, leave unſearch'd no nook;
But chiefly where thoſe two fair creatures lodge,
Now laid perhaps aſleep, ſecure of harm.
This evening from the ſun's decline arriv'd,
Who tells of ſome infernal Spirit ſeen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) eſcap'd
The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt:
Such, where ye find, ſeiſe faſt, and hither bring.
So ſaying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazzling the moon; theſe to the bower direct
In ſearch of whom they ſought: Him there they found
Squat like a toad, cloſe at the ear of Eve,

the ſhield. From *theſe* that wheeled to the ſpear Gabriel calls out two: He himſelf then was in that company. *Shield* and *ſpear* for left hand and right, while the men are ſuppoſed in arms, give a dignity of expreſſion, more than the common words have.

BENTLEY.

So Triſſino, in his *Italia Liberata*, lib. vi. v. 55.

"Tal, che ſi voltan tutti quanti *al ſcudo*,
"E tutti *all' aſta* ——"

Ver. 788. *Ithuriel and Zephon,*] Two Angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew *the diſcovery of God.* *Zephon* in Hebrew *a ſecret or ſearcher of ſecrets.*

HUME.

Aſſaying by his deviliſh art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illuſions, as he liſt, phantaſms and dreams;
Or if, inſpiring venom, he might taint
The animal ſpirits, that from pure blood ariſe
Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raiſe
At leaſt diſtemper'd, diſcontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate deſires,
Blown up with high conceits ingendering pride.
Him thus intent Ithuriel with his ſpear
Touch'd lightly; for no falſhood can endure
Touch of celeſtial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeneſs: Up he ſtarts
Diſcover'd and ſurpris'd. As when a ſpark

Ver. 802. *The organs of her fancy,*] He might remember the pretended fairy's commiſſion in the *Merry Wives of Windſor*, A. v. S. v.

" Raiſe up the *organs of her fantaſy*,
" Sleep ſhe as ſound as careleſs infancy."

Ver. 804. *Or if, inſpiring venom,* &c.] So Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 351, where the ſerpent, that the fury Alecto had flung upon Amata, creeps ſoftly over her,

" Vipeream inſpirans animam ——
" Pertentat ſenſus." RICHARDSON.

In like manner the fury Erinnys applies, to the heart of Herod, in a dream, a ſerpent; which, ſhedding its poiſon there, inſpires him with cruelty and rage, Marino, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. i. But this power of evil ſpirits over the fancy and animal ſpirits, is minutely diſcuſſed in *Wier De Lamus*, lib. iii. cap. viii. ed. 1582, " De Phantaſia &c."

Ver. 814. —— *As when a ſpark*
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, &c.] Arioſto

Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
Fit for the tun ſome magazine to ſtore
Againſt a rumour'd war, the ſmutty grain,
With ſudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the air:
So ſtarted up in his own ſhape the Fiend.
Back ſtept thoſe two fair Angels, half amaz'd
So ſudden to behold the griſly king;
Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accoſt him ſoon.

Which of thoſe rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
Com'ſt thou, eſcap'd thy priſon? and, transform'd,
Why ſat'ſt thou like an enemy in wait,
Here watching at the head of theſe that ſleep?

Know ye not then, ſaid Satan, fill'd with ſcorn,
Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, there ſitting where ye durſt not ſoar:
Not to know me argues yourſelves unknown,
The loweſt of your throng; or, if ye know,
Why aſk ye, and ſuperfluous begin
Your meſſage, like to end as much in vain?

uſes the ſame ſimile to deſcribe a ſudden ſtart of paſſion, *Orl. Fur.* c. x. ſt. 40.

" Non così fin ſalnitro, e zolfo puro
" Tocco dal foco, ſubito s' avvampa." THYER.

Ver. 829. ——— *there ſitting where ye durſt not ſoar:*] As *ſitting* is frequently uſed in the Scriptures, and in other ancient writers, for a poſture that implies a high rank of dignity and power; Satan by this expreſſion intimates his great ſuperiority over them, that he had the privilege to *ſit*, as an Angel of figure and authority, in an eminent part of Heaven, where they *durſt not ſoar*, where they did not preſume even to come.

GREENWOOD.

To whom thus Zephon, anſwering ſcorn with
ſcorn.
Think not, revolted Spirit, thy ſhape the ſame,
Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known,
As when thou ſtood'ſt in Heaven upright and
pure;
That glory then, when thou no more waſt good,
Departed from thee; and thou reſembleſt now
Thy ſin and place of doom obſcure and foul.
But come, for thou, be ſure, ſhalt give account

Ver. 834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to anſwer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occaſion. Ithuriel with his ſpear reſtored the Fiend to his own ſhape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been ſo well, if the ſame perſon had done both.
NEWTON.

Ver. 835. *Think not, revolted Spirit, thy ſhape the ſame,*
Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known,] Dr. Bentley judges rightly enough that the preſent reading is faulty; for if the words *thy ſhape the ſame*, are in the ablative caſe put abſolutely, it is neceſſary that *undiminiſh'd* ſhould follow *brightneſs*: and accordingly the Doctor reads "*Or brightneſs undiminiſh'd:*" which order of the words we muſt follow, unleſs it may be thought as ſmall an alteration to read thus,

"Think not, revolted Spirit, *by* ſhape the ſame
"Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known:"

Juſt as in B. i. 732. we have

——— "his hand was *known*
"In Heaven *by* many a towred ſtructure high."
PEARCE.

But without any alteration may we not underſtand *ſhape* and *brightneſs* as in the accuſative caſe after the verb *think*? Think not thy ſhape the ſame, or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven. NEWTON.

To him who ſent us, whoſe charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and theſe from harm.
So ſpake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible: Abaſh'd the Devil ſtood,
And felt how awful goodneſs is, and ſaw
Virtue in her ſhape how lovely; ſaw, and pin'd
His loſs; but chiefly to find here obſerv'd
His luſtre viſibly impair'd; yet ſeem'd
Undaunted. If I muſt contend, ſaid he,

Ver. 845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg. *Æn.* v. 344.

" Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus."

NEWTON.

Ver. 848. *Virtue in her ſhape how lovely;*] What is ſaid here of ſeeing " Virtue in her ſhape how lovely," is manifeſtly borrowed from Plato and Cicero: " *Formam* quidem *ipſam* et quaſi *faciem honeſti* vides, quæ *ſi oculis cerneretur*, mirabiles amores, ut ait Plato, excitaret ſapientiæ." Cic. de Off. 1. 5.

NEWTON.

Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 302. " If ever *Virtue took a body to ſhew his* (ſelf unconceivable) *beauty*, it was in Pamela." But let Milton illuſtrate himſelf: " And certainly Diſcipline is not only the removal of Diſorder; but, if any viſible ſhape can be given to divine things, *the very viſible ſhape and image of Virtue*; whereby ſhe is not only *ſeen* in the regular geſtures and motions of her heavenly paces as ſhe walks, but alſo makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears." *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. p. 202. ed. 1698. Again, p. 205. " The *lovely ſhapes* of *Virtues* and Graces." Again, p. 227. " The very *ſhape* and viſage of *Truth*."

Ibid. ——————— *ſaw, and pin'd*
His loſs;] Perſius, *Sat.* iii. 38.

" Virtutem videant, intabeſcántque relictâ." HUME.

Beſt with the beſt, the ſender, not the ſent,
Or all at once; more glory will be won,
Or leſs be loſt. Thy fear, ſaid Zephon bold,
Will ſave us trial what the leaſt can do
Single againſt thee wicked, and thence weak.
The Fiend replied not, overcome with rage;
But, like a proud ſteed rein'd, went haughty on,
Champing his iron curb: To ſtrive or fly
He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd
His heart, not elſe diſmay'd. Now drew they nigh
The weſtern point, where thoſe half-rounding guards
Juſt met, and cloſing ſtood in ſquadron join'd,
Awaiting next command. To whom their Chief,
Gabriël, from the front thus call'd aloud.
O friends! I hear the tread of nimble feet
Haſting this way, and now by glimpſe diſcern

Ver. 859. *But, like a proud ſteed rein'd, went haughty on, Champing his iron curb:*] This is literally from what Mercury ſays to Prometheus, Æſchylus, *Prom. Vinct.* 1008.

——— δακὼν δὲ χάμιον ὡς νεοζυγὴς
Πῶλος, βιάζῃ καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχῃ. THYER.

Ver. 866. *O friends! I hear* &c.] Milton, in this whole epiſode, keeps cloſe to his maſter Homer, who ſends out Ulyſſes and Diomede into the Trojan camp as ſpies, *Iliad* x. 533, &c.

Ὥρῃ ———
Ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει.
" *O friends! I hear the tread of nimble feet.*"
Οὔπω πᾶν ἔιρητο ἔπος, ὅτ' ὄρ' ἦλυθον αὐτοί.
" *He ſcarce had ended, when thoſe two approach'd.*"
UPTON.

Ithuriel and Zephon through the ſhade;
And with them comes a third of regal port,
But faded ſplendour wan; who by his gait
And fierce demeanour ſeems the Prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without conteſt;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.
He ſcarce had ended, when thoſe two approach'd,
And brief related whom they brought, where found,
How buſied, in what form and poſture couch'd.
To whom with ſtern regard thus Gabriel ſpake.
Why haſt thou, Satan, broke the bounds preſcrib'd
To thy tranſgreſſions, and diſturb'd the charge
Of others, who approve not to tranſgreſs
By thy example, but have power and right
To queſtion thy bold entrance on this place;

Ver. 873. ——— *for in his look defiance lours.*] So, in *Samſon*, v. 1073. of Harapha;

"His habit carries peace, *his brow defiance.*"

Pope copies the Par. Loſt, in his *Temple of Fame*, v. 343.

"And proud *defiance in their looks* they bore."

Ver. 877. ——— *with ſtern regard*] Anſwering to the Homerick διοὸν δερκόμενος, *Iliad* iii, and ὑπόδρα ἰδών, *Il.* iv.

HUME.

Ver. 878. *Why haſt thou, Satan, broke the bounds preſcrib'd To thy tranſgreſſions,*] Milton means, as I ſuppoſe, that the bounds of Hell were by God preſcribed to Satan's tranſgreſſions, ſo as that it was intended he ſhould tranſgreſs no where elſe, but *within* thoſe bounds; whereas he was now attempting to tranſgreſs *without* them. NEWTON.

Employ'd, it ſeems, to violate ſleep, and thoſe
Whoſe dwelling God hath planted here in bliſs?
To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow.
Gabriel! thou hadſt in Heaven the eſteem of wiſe,
And ſuch I held thee; but this queſtion aſk'd
Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?
Who would not, finding way, break looſe from Hell,
Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldſt thyſelf, no doubt,
And boldly venture to whatever place
Fartheſt from pain, where thou mightſt hope to change
Torment with eaſe, and ſooneſt recompenſe

Ver. 883. ——— *to* violate *ſleep,*] Shakſpeare, in *Macbeth*, has a ſtronger expreſſion, "to *murder* ſleep;" both equally proper in the places were they are employed. NEWTON.

Ver. 887. ——— *but this queſtion aſk'd*
Puts me in doubt.] Homer: *Thou ſeemedſt a wiſe man formerly,* Νῦν δ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικας, BENTLEY.

Ver. 892. ——— *where thou mightſt hope to* change
Torment with *eaſe,*] Dr. Bentley would read "*for* eaſe:" But, "to change torment *with* eaſe," is according to the Latins, whom Milton often follows: "glandem *mutavit ariſtâ,*" Virgil, *Georg.* i. 8. NEWTON.

To *change with* is alſo the language of Shakſpeare, in *Cymbeline*, A. i. S. vi.

——— "to ſhift his being,
"Is to *exchange* one miſery *with* another."

STEEVENS.

Dole with delight, which in this place I ſought;
To thee no reaſon, who know'ſt only good,
But evil haſt not tried: and wilt object
His will who bounds us? Let him ſurer bar
His iron gates, if he intends our ſtay
In that dark durance: Thus much what was aſk'd.
The reſt is true, they found me where they ſay;
But that implies not violence or harm.

Thus he in ſcorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
Diſdainfully half ſmiling, thus replied.
O loſs of one in Heaven to judge of wiſe
Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew,
And now returns him from his priſon 'ſcap'd,
Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wiſe

Ver. 894. Dole *with* delight,] Shakſpeare uſes the ſame antitheſis, *Hamlet*, A. i. S. ii.

——— "weighing *delight* and *dole*."

Compare alſo *The Rare Triumphes of Loue and Fortune*, 1589.

"*Dole* and diſpaire hencefoorth be thy *delight*."

Ver. 896. ——— *and wilt object*
His will who bounds us?] The pronoun *thou* is underſtood. It is a conciſe way of ſpeaking, ſomething like "*and know'ſt for whom*," B. ii. 730. NEWTON.

Ver. 903. *Diſdainfully half ſmiling*,] Conciſely expreſſed. Taſſo uſes two lines to give us the ſame idea, *Gier. Lib.* c. v. ſt. 42.

"Sorriſe all' hor Rinaldo; e con volto,
"In cui tra 'l riſo lampeggio lo ſdegno."

Again, c. xix. ſt. 4.

"Sorriſe il buon Tancredi un cotal riſo
"Di ſdegno." BOWLE.

Or not, who aſk what boldneſs brought him hither
Unlicens'd from his bounds in Hell preſcrib'd;
So wiſe he judges it to fly from pain
However, and to 'ſcape his puniſhment!
So judge thou ſtill, preſumptuous! till the wrath,
Which thou incurr'ſt by flying, meet thy flight
Sevenfold, and ſcourge that wiſdom back to Hell,
Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain
Can equal anger infinite provok'd.
But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
Came not all hell broke looſe? is pain to them
Leſs pain, leſs to be fled; or thou than they
Leſs hardy to endure? Courageous Chief!
The firſt in flight from pain! hadſt thou alleg'd
To thy deſerted hoſt this cauſe of flight,
Thou ſurely hadſt not come ſole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus anſwer'd, frowning ſtern.

Not that I leſs endure, or ſhrink from pain,
Inſulting Angel! well thou know'ſt I ſtood
Thy fierceſt, when in battle to thy aid
The blaſting vollied thunder made all ſpeed,

Ver. 927. Thy *fierceſt,*] Dr. Bentley reads "*The* fierceſt," that is, pain: But "*Thy* fierceſt" is right, and we may underſtand it with Dr. Pearce, "*Thy fierceſt attack,*" or, with Mr. Richardſon, "*Thy fierceſt enemy.*" *Fierceſt* is uſed as a ſubſtantive, as Milton often uſes adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives ſeveral inſtances; "The *ſenſible* of pain," B. ii. 278; "The *ſtony* from their hearts," B. xi. 4; "His *beſt* of man," ibid. 497.

NEWTON.

Ver. 928. The *blaſting*] Thus it is in the firſt edition: The

And ſeconded thy elſe not dreaded ſpear.
But ſtill thy words at random, as before,
Argue thy inexperience what behoves
From hard aſſays and ill ſucceſſes paſt
A faithful leader, not to hazard all
Through ways of danger by himſelf untried:
I, therefore, I alone firſt undertook
To wing the deſolate abyſs, and ſpy
This new created world, whereof in Hell
Fame is not ſilent, here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
To ſettle here on earth, or in mid air;
Though for poſſeſſion put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare againſt;
Whoſe eaſier buſineſs were to ſerve their Lord
High up in Heaven, with ſongs to hymn his throne,
And practis'd diſtances to cringe, not fight.

ſecond has it *Thy*; but it is wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabout, and probably occaſioned the miſtake. The ſenſe requires it to be *The*. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 944. ——— *with ſongs to hymn his throne,*
And practis'd diſtances to cringe, not fight.] This is the untamed inſolence of Prometheus to the Chorus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 945. edit. Schütz.

Σέθεν, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί.
Ἐμὲν δ' ἴλασσον Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μέλει.

Ver. 945. *And practis'd diſtances to cringe,*] *With* is underſtood. "With ſongs to hymn his throne, and *with* practis'd diſtances to cringe." Dr. Bentley has ſtrangely miſtaken it.
PEARCE.

To whom the warriour-Angel ſoon replied.
To ſay and ſtraight unſay, pretending firſt
Wiſe to fly pain, profeſſing next the ſpy,
Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,
Satan, and couldſt thou faithful add? O name,
O ſacred name of faithfulneſs profan'd!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.
Was this your diſcipline and faith engag'd,
Your military obedience, to diſſolve
Allegiance to the acknowledg'd Power ſupreme?
And thou, fly hypocrite, who now wouldſt ſeem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and ſervily ador'd
Heaven's awful Monarch? wherefore, but in hope
To diſpoſſeſs him, and thyſelf to reign?
But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;
Fly thither whence thou fledſt! If from this hour
Within theſe hallow'd limits thou appear,
Back to the infernal pit I drag thee chain'd,

Ver. 962. *But mark what I arreed thee now,*] The manner, in which Mercury denounces puniſhment to Prometheus, is ſimilar. See Æſch. *Prom. Vinct.* v. 1079. ed. ſupr.

Ἀλλ' οὖν μίμνοσθ' ἅτ' ἐγὼ προλέγω κ. τ. λ.

Areed, or *aread*, is a Saxon word ſignifying to *appoint*, to *decree*; in which ſenſe it is uſed by Chaucer, and by biſhop Hall in his Satires.

Ver. 965. ——— *I drag thee*] The preſent tenſe uſed for the future, to ſignify the immediate execution of the menace. HUME.

And ſeal thee ſo, as henceforth not to ſcorn
The facile gates of Hell too ſlightly barr'd.
So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied.
Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,
Proud limitary Cherub! but ere then
Far heavier load thyſelf expect to feel
From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's King
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
Us'd to the yoke, draw'ſt his triumphant wheels

A Latiniſm, and very emphatical. "Quæ prima pericula *cito*," Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 367. "Cui famula *trador?* Quem dominum *voco?*" Seneca, *Troad.* 473. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 966. *And* ſeal *thee ſo,*] This ſeems to allude to the chaining of Satan, *Rev.* xx. 3. "And he caſt him *into the bottomleſs pit*, and ſhut him, and *ſet a ſeal* upon him." HUME.

Ver. 971. *Proud* limitary *Cherub!*] Thou proud *preſcribing* Angel, that preſumeſt to *limit* me, and appoint my priſon, according to Mr. Hume. Or rather, *limitary, ſet to guard the bounds*; a taunt inſulting the good Angel as one employed in a little mean office, according to Mr. Richardſon. For *limitary*, as Dr. Heylin remarks, is from *limitaneus*. Milites *limitanei* are ſoldiers in garriſon *upon the frontiers*. And, as Mr. Thyer adds, the word is intended as a ſcornful ſneer upon what Gabriel had juſt ſaid,

——"if from this hour
"Within theſe hallow'd *limits* thou appear." NEWTON.

Ver. 974. *Ride on thy wings,* &c.] This ſeems to allude to Ezekiel's viſion, where four cherubims are appointed to the four wheels: "And the Cherubims did lift up *their wings*, and the wheels beſide them; and the glory of the Lord God of Iſrael *was over them above.*" See chap. i and x and xi. 22. NEWTON.

Or the alluſion may be perhaps to that ſublime paſſage, *Pſalm* xviii. 10, "He *rode* upon a Cherub, and did fly."

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In progreſs through the road of Heaven ſtar-
pav'd.
While thus he ſpake, the angelick ſquadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, ſharpening in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported ſpears, as thick as when a field

Ver. 976. ——— *Heaven ſtar-pav'd.*] So, in *Epigrammes* &c. by J. Aſhmore, 1621, p. 33. " A ſpeech made to the King &c. at Rippon:

" High Jove, with all the gods together met,
" To ſee, great King, thy comming to this town,
" The caſements large of *heauen* have open ſet,*
" And from their *ſtar-pav'd* floors have ſent me down,
" Thee in their name to welcome, &c."

Ver. 977. ——— *the angelick ſquadron*] This is a frequent phraſe in Italian poetry. Thus in *Poeſie* Del S. F. Teſti, Milan 1658, p. 473.

——— " Eſulti il mondo,
" E da gl' empirei regni
" Tutto a nozze sì degne
" De l' *angeliche ſquadre* applauda il coro."

And in the *Adamo* of Andreini, Milan 1617, p. 3.

" O merauiglie noue, ò ſacro, ò ſanto
" De l' *angeliche ſquadre* eterno oggetto."

Ver. 980. *With* ported *ſpears,*] With their ſpears *borne pointed* towards him: A military term. HUME.

Ibid. ——— *as thick as when a field* &c.] It is familiar with the poets to compare an army with their ſpears and ſwords to a field of ſtanding corn. Homer has a ſimile much of the ſame nature, comparing the motion of the army, after Agamemnon's ſpeech, to the waving of the ears of corn, *Iliad* ii. 147.

NEWTON.

Of Ceres ripe for harveſt waving bends
Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
Sways them; the careful plowman doubting ſtands,
Leſt on the threſhing floor his hopeful ſheaves
Prove chaff. On the other ſide, Satan, alarm'd,
Collecting all his might, dilated ſtood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas, unremov'd:

Virgil has compreſſed the ſimile into a ſingle metaphor, equally ſignificative, *Georg.* ii. 142.

" Nec galeis denſisque virûm *ſeges* horruit haſtis."

Ver. 986. ——— dilated *ſtood,*] Milton is indebted, I fancy, for this nervous expreſſion to the following deſcription of Taſſo's Argantes addreſſing himſelf to fight with Tancred, *Ger. Lib.* c. xix. ſt. 12.

" Ma *diſteſo* e eretto il fero Argante."

Diſteſo in Italian, is exactly the ſame with *dilated* in Engliſh, and expreſſes very ſtrongly the attitude of an eager and undaunted combatant, where fury not only ſeems to erect and enlarge his ſtature, but expands as it were his whole frame, and extends every limb. I do not remember to have ever before met with the word *dilated* applied in the ſame manner in our language. THYER.

Ver. 987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas,* unremov'd:] So Satan in Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. ſt. 6.

" Ne pur *Calpe* s' inalza, ò 'l magno *Atlante,*
" Ch' anzi lui non pareſſe un picciol colle."

Unremoved for *immoveable* is very poetical, and juſtified by Milton's " conjugal attraction *unreprov'd,*" and Spenſer's " *unreproved* truth." See the note on v. 492. THYER.

So, in the firſt part of Shakſpeare's *K. Hen.* VI.

" Strong-fixed is the houſe of Lancaſter,
" And, *like a mountain, not to be remov'd.*" STEEVENS.

His ſtature reach'd the ſky, and on his creſt
Sat Horrour plum'd; nor wanted in his graſp
What ſeem'd both ſpear and ſhield: Now dreadful deeds
Might have enſued, nor only Paradiſe
In this commotion, but the ſtarry cope
Of Heaven perhaps, or all the elements
At leaſt had gone to wrack, diſturb'd and torn
With violence of this conflict, had not ſoon

Ver. 988. *His ſtature reach'd the ſky,*] It is probable, that, beſides Homer's *Diſcord*, and Virgil's *Fame*, mentioned by Addiſon, Milton alluded likewiſe to that noble deſcription in the book of *Wiſdom*, xviii. 16; "*It touched the heaven, but it ſtood upon the earth.*" NEWTON.

Caxton, in the *Lyf of Saynt Anthonye*, ſays, "The *devil* appyered to hym in ſo grete a *ſtature* that he *touched the heven.*" Golden Legende, 1483, fol. 115. BOWLE.

Ver. 989. *Sat Horrour plum'd*;] See Mr. Warton's note, *In Quintum Novembris*, v. 148.

Ibid. —*nor wanted in his graſp* &c.] This is ſaid to ſignify that he wanted not arms, though he was but juſt raiſed out of the form of a toad. He was repreſented as in arms, B. ii. 812, when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we muſt ſuppoſe that his power, as an Angel, was ſuch, that he could aſſume them upon occaſion whenever he pleaſed. NEWTON.

Ver. 991. ——————, *nor only Paradiſe* &c.] This repreſentation of what muſt have happened, if Gabriel and Satan had encountered, is imagined in theſe few lines with a nobleneſs ſuitable to the occaſion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he repreſents the terrours which muſt have attended the conflict of two ſuch powers as Jupiter and Neptune, *Iliad.* XV. 224.

——μάλα γὰρ κε μάχης ἐτύδοιλο καὶ ἄλλοι,
Οἵτιν᾽ ὑπέρτεροί εἰσι θεοὶ, Κρόνου ἀμφὶς ἐόντες. NEWTON.

The Eternal, to prevent ſuch horrid fray,
Hung forth in Heaven his golden ſcales, yet ſeen
Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,
Wherein all things created firſt he weigh'd,
The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air

Ver. 996. *The Eternal, to prevent ſuch horrid fray,*
Hung forth in Heaven his golden ſcales, yet ſeen
Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,] Addiſon has referred to the golden ſcales, in the twenty ſecond *Iliad*, in which Jupiter weighs the fates of Hector and Achilles; and to Virgil's ſcales, in the twelfth *Æneid*, in which the fates of Turnus and Æneas are weighed.

But, as Dr. Newton has obſerved, the alluſion to the heavenly ſign, *Libra*, or *The Scales*, is a beauty that is not in Homer or Virgil, and gives a manifeſt advantage over both their deſcriptions.

Ver. 999. *Wherein all things created firſt he* weigh'd,] This expreſſion of weighing the creation at firſt, and of all events ſince, gives us a ſublime idea of Providence, and is conformable to the ſtyle of Scripture, *Iſaiah* xl. 12. "Who *weighed* the mountains in *ſcales*, and the hills in a *balance*." See alſo *Job* xxviii. 25, and xxxvii. 16. And, for weighing particular events, ſee 1 *Sam.* ii. 3. "By him *actions* are *weighed*." And *Prov.* xvi. 2. "The Lord *weigheth* the *ſpirits*." I do not recollect an inſtance of *weighing battles* particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in Homer and Virgil: And, for *weighing kingdoms*, ſee *Daniel* v. 26, 27. "God hath numbered thy *kingdom*, and finiſhed it; thou art *weighed* in the balances." So finely has Milton improved upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of Holy Scripture. NEWTON.

Ver. 1000. *The* pendulous *round earth*] The round world, that ſeems to "*hang*," as Job ſays, "*on nothing*," xxvi. 7. For ſo is the air, in reſpect of any baſis or ſuſtentation. HUME.

Shakſpeare, in *K. Lear*, uſes a ſimilar expreſſion; "the *pendulous* air."

But compare Milton's poem *In Obitum Procancellarii*, v. 3.

In counterpoiſe, now ponders all events,
Battles and realms: In theſe he put two weights,
The ſequel each of parting and of fight:

" Qui *pendulum telluris orbem*
" Iäpeti colitis nepotes."

Ver. 1003. *The* ſequel *each of parting and of fight*;] Dr. Bentley reads " The *ſignal* each &c." To underſtand which of theſe two readings ſuits the place beſt, let us conſider the poet's thought, which was this: God put in the golden ſcales two weights: in the one ſcale he put the weight, which was the *ſequel* (that is repreſented the conſequence) of Satan's *parting* from them; in the other ſcale he put the weight, which was the *ſequel* of Satan's *fighting*: neither of the ſcales had any thing in it immediately relating to Gabriel: And therefore Dr. Bentley miſtakes (I think) when he ſays, that the aſcending weight, Satan's, was the ſignal to him of defeat; the deſcending, Gabriel's, the *ſignal* to him of victory: They were both ſignals (if ſignals) to Satan only, for he only was *weigh'd*, ver. 1012; or rather they ſhowed him what would be the conſequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The ſcale in which lay the weight, that was the *ſequel* of his *fighting*, by aſcending ſhowed him that he was *light in arms*, and could not obtain victory; whereas the other ſcale, in which was the *ſequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having deſcended, it was a ſign that his going off quietly would be his wiſeſt and weightieſt attempt.

The reader will excuſe my having been ſo long in this note, when he conſiders that Dr. Bentley, and probably many others have miſunderſtood Milton's thought about the ſcales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter's ſcales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weighed one againſt the other, and the deſcent of one of the ſcales foreſhowed the death of him whoſe fate lay in that ſcale, " *quo vergat pondere letbum*:" whereas in Milton nothing is weighed but what relates to Satan only, and in the two ſcales are weighed the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been ſaid it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *ſequel* meant

The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam; 1004

the conſequence or *event*, as it is expreſſed in ver. 1001, and then there will be no occaſion for Dr. Bentley's *ſignal*; both becauſe it is a very improper word in this place, and becauſe a *ſignal of parting and of fight*, can be nothing elſe than a ſignal when to part, and when to fight; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. PEARCE.

It may be proper to produce the paſſages from Homer and Virgil, of which ſo much has been ſaid; that the reader may have the ſatisfaction of comparing them with Milton. *Iliad* viii. 69.

Καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα·
Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε ταπηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων·
Ἕλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών, ῥέπε δ' αἴσιμον ἦμαρ Ἀχαιῶν.
Αἳ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρῃ
Ἐζέσθην, Τρώων δὲ, πρὸς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἄϊρθεν.

The ſame lines, *mutatis mutandis*, are applied to Hector and Achilles in the twenty-ſecond book.

The paſſage in Virgil is ſhorter, *Æneid* xii. 725.

" Jupiter ipſe duas æquato examine lances
" Suſtinet; et fata imponit diverſa duorum;
" Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere lethum."

Though there is ſome reſemblance in theſe paſſages to Milton, yet there is alſo great difference. There are *golden ſcales* in Homer, as well as in Milton; but Milton, in ſome meaſure, authorizes the fiction, by making his ſcales *the balance in the heavens*. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weighed one againſt another; But here only Satan is weighed; in one ſcale the conſequence of his retreating, in the other of his fighting. And there is this farther improvement, that, as in Homer and Virgil the fates are weighed to ſatisfy Jupiter himſelf, it is here done to ſatisfy only the contending parties; for Satan to read his own deſtiny. So that when Milton imitates a fine paſſage, he does not imitate it ſervilely, but makes it as I may ſay an

Which Gabriel ſpying, thus beſpake the Fiend.
Satan, I know thy ſtrength, and thou know'ſt
mine;
Neither our own, but given: What folly then
To boaſt what arms can do? ſince thine no more
Than Heaven permits, nor mine, though doubled
now
To trample thee as mire: For proof look up,
And read thy lot in yon celeſtial ſign;
Where thou art weigh'd, and ſhown how light,
how weak,

original of his own, by his manner of varying and improving it. NEWTON.

Ver. 1005. *Which Gabriel ſpying,*] Triſſino, in the 27th book of his *Italia Liberata*, repreſents the Creator weighing, with his *golden ſcales*, the fates of the contending parties, the Romans and the Goths; and, on the deſcent of the one and the aſcent of the other, he adds

" *Il che vedendo* gli angioli divini,
" Conobber chiara la ſentenzia eterna,
" E totalmente abbandonaro i Goti."

Ver. 1008. ——— *ſince* thine *no more*
Than Heaven permits, nor mine,] *Thine* and *mine* refer to *ſtrength*, v. 1006, not to *arms*, the ſubſtantive preceding. NEWTON.

Ver. 1010. *To trample thee as mire:*] *Iſaiah* x. 6. " To tread them down like the mire in the ſtreets." GILLIES.

Ver. 1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and ſhown how light,*
how weak,] He does not make the aſcending ſcale the ſign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightneſs and weakneſs according to that of Belſhazzar, *Dan.* v. 27. " *Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.*"

If thou reſiſt. The Fiend look'd up, and knew
His mounted ſcale aloft: Nor more; but fled
Murmuring, and with him fled the ſhades of night.

So true it is, that Milton oftener imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them moſt.

NEWTON.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

FIFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approached, Eve relates to Adam her troubleſome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day-labours: Their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God, to render man inexcuſable, ſends Raphael to admoniſh him of his obedience, of his free eſtate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever elſe may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradiſe; his appearance deſcribed; his coming diſcerned by Adam afar off ſitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choiceſt fruits of Paradiſe got together by Eve; their diſcourſe at table: Raphael performs his meſſage, minds Adam of his ſtate and of his enemy; relates, at Adam's requeſt, who that enemy is, and how he came to be ſo, beginning from his firſt revolt in Heaven, and the occaſion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, perſuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument diſſuades and oppoſes him, then forſakes him.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

NOW Morn, her roſy ſteps in the eaſtern clime
Advancing, ſow'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam wak'd, ſo cuſtom'd; for his ſleep
Was aery-light, from pure digeſtion bred,
And temperate vapours bland, which the only ſound

Ver. 1. *Now Morn, her roſy ſteps* &c.] This is the morning of the day, after Satan's coming to the earth; and, as Homer calls the morning ῥοδοδάκτυλος *roſy-fingered*, Milton here gives her *roſy ſteps*, and, in B. vi. 3. a *roſy hand*. The morn is firſt *gray*, then *roſy*, upon the nearer approach of the ſun. And ſhe is ſaid to *ſow* the earth &c. by the ſame ſort of metaphor as Lucretius ſays of the ſun, "Lumine *conſerit* arva," ii. 211.

NEWTON.

Mr. Upton and Mr. Wakefield have noted the exiſtence of this metaphor, in a piece of unknown poetry quoted by Ariſtotle in his Poeticks: ΣΠΕΙΡΩΝ διακτίσαν ΦΑΟΓΑ.

I may add, from the old tranſlation of the ninety-ſeventh *Pſalm*, "*Light* is *ſown* for the righteous."

Mr. Thyer notes the propriety of Milton's expreſſion, *ſow'd the earth with orient pearl*, as more obſervable than that of Lucretius; ſince the *dew-drops* have ſomething of the ſhape and appearance of *ſcattered ſeeds*.

Ver. 5. Fenton thinks this, and the following line, to have been thus dictated by Milton:

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly diſpers'd, and the ſhrill matin ſong

" And temperate vapours bland *from fuming rills*,
" *Which the only ſound of leaves* (Aurora's fan)
" Lightly diſpers'd, &c."

But he has miſtaken the ſenſe: For *which*, as Dr. Newton has obſerved, refers to *ſleep*, and not to *vapours*, the ſubſtantive immediately preceding; " which *ſleep* was diſperſed by the ſound only of leaves, and fuming rills, and ſongs of birds."

Ibid. ——— *the* only *ſound*] The ſound *alone*, as Dr. Pearce obſerves; a phraſe, countenanced, as Mr. Thyer adds, by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. xi. 30.

" As if *the onely ſound* thereof ſhe feard."

Ver. 6. ——— fuming *rills*,] *Fumes* or *ſteams* riſe from the water in the morning, according to v. 186.

" Ye Miſts and Exhalations, that now riſe
" From hill or *ſteaming* lake, &c."

But they do not make a noiſe as *fuming*, but only as *rills*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *Aurora's fan*,] The fanning winds among the leaves may be properly called the *fan of the morning*; and it is not unuſual to refer a thing, which follows two ſubſtantives, to the firſt of the two only. NEWTON.

Compare Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* ed. ſupr. p. 342.

———" Now began
" *Aurora's uſher*, with his *windy fan*,
" Gently to ſhake the woods on euery ſide."

The *winds* are alſo called "heaven's freſh *fans*," ibid. p. 244.

Ver. 7. *Lightly* diſpers'd,] This elegant expreſſion of *diſperſing ſleep*, is juſtified, as Dr. Newton has obſerved, by Sophocles, *Trachin.* v. 1006.

——— καὶ μὴ ΣΚΕΔΑΣΑΙ
Τῷδ' ἀπὸ κραυᾶς βλεφάρων ϑ' ΥΠΝΟΝ.

Ibid. ——— *the ſhrill matin ſong*
Of birds &c.] So Evander is waked in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 456.

Of birds on every bough; ſo much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With treſſes diſcompos'd, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet reſt: He, on his ſide
Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or aſleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

" Evandrum ex humili tecto lux ſuſcitat alma,
" Et *matutini volucrum* ſub culmine *cantus*."

And Erminia in Taſſo, by the ſweet noiſe of birds, winds, and waters, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. ſt. 5.

" Non ſi deſtò fin che garrir gli augelli,
" Non ſentì lieti, e ſalutar gli arbori,
" E mormorare il fiume, e gli arboſcelli,
" E con l'onda ſcherzar l'aura, e co' fiori." NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle cites the following paſſage from the *Rime* del Ang. Grillo, p.te 1.ma fol. 9. b.

" Ecco forger l'Aurora, ecco gli augelli
" Salutar la co'l canto."

The *ſhrill matin ſong of birds*, it may be added, is the very expreſſion of Sophocles, *Electra*, v. 18.—See alſo Herrick's *Heſperides*, 1648, p. 74.

" When all the *birds* have *mattens* ſeyd,
" And *ſung* their thankfull hymnes, &c."

Ver. 15. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,*] For this delightful ſimile Milton was probably obliged to his admired Ben Jonſon, in his Maſk of *Love reconciled to Virtue*; Song 3.

" The fair will think you do them wrong;
" Go, chooſe among—but with a mind
" *As gentle as the ſtroaking wind*
" *Runs o'er the gentler flowers.*" THYER.

Her hand ſoft touching, whiſper'd thus. Awake,
My faireſt, my eſpous'd, my lateſt found,
Heaven's laſt beſt gift, my ever new delight!
Awake: The morning ſhines, and the freſh field
Calls us; we loſe the prime, to mark how ſpring
Our tender plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colours, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid ſweet.
Such whiſpering wak'd her, but with ſtartled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus ſhe ſpake.
O ſole in whom my thoughts find all repoſe,
My glory, my perfection! glad I ſee
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night
(Such night till this I never paſs'd) have dream'd,
If dream'd, not, as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day paſt, or morrow's next deſign,

Ver. 17. ——————— *Awake,*
My faireſt, my eſpous'd, &c.] Addiſon has obſerved the ſimilarity of this addreſs to that of Solomon, *Cant.* ii. 10, &c. See alſo Spenſer, in his *Epithalamion*, v. 74.

"Wake now, my love! awake, for it is time:
"The roſie morn long ſince left Tithon's bed, &c."

Ver. 21. ——————— *we loſe the* prime,] The *prime* of the day; as he calls it below, v. 170, "that ſweet *hour of prime.*" And B. ix. 200.

"The ſeaſon, *prime* for ſweeteſt ſcents and airs."

So Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. vi. 13.

"They all, as glad as birds of joyous *prime.*"

NEWTON.

But of offence and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irkſome night: Methought,
Cloſe at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
With gentle voice; I thought it thine: It ſaid,
" Why ſleep'ſt thou Eve? now is the pleaſant time,
" The cool, the ſilent, ſave where ſilence yields
" To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
" Tunes ſweeteſt his love-labour'd ſong; now reigns

Ver. 41. *Tunes ſweeteſt his love-labour'd ſong;*] Spenſer in his *Epithalamion*, a poem which Milton ſeems often to imitate, has it " *the bird's love-learned ſong.*" We muſt farther obſerve, that our author takes great liberties in his uſe of the genders, ſometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the ſame thing or creature. We have a very remarkable inſtance in B. vi. 878.

" Diſburden'd Heaven rejoic'd, and ſoon repair'd
" *Her* mural breach, returning whence *it* roll'd."

The nightingale, though it is the cock that ſings, he makes uſually of the feminine gender, as in B. iv. 602.

——— " the wakeful nightingale;
" *She* all night long *her* amorous deſcant ſung."

See likewiſe B. iii. 40. B. vii. 436. But here he ſays *his love-labour'd ſong*, as the ſpeech is addreſſed to Eve. And for the ſame reaſon he ſays

—— " Heaven wakes with all *his* eyes."

though commonly he uſes Heaven itſelf in the feminine gender, as in B. vii. 205.

——— " Heaven open'd wide
" *Her* ever-during gates ——"

and again, B. vii. 574.

——— " He through Heaven,
" That open'd wide *her* blazing portals &c."

" Full-orb'd the moon, and with more pleaſing
light
" Shadowy ſets off the face of things; in vain,
" If none regard; Heaven wakes with all his eyes,
" Whom to behold but thee, Nature's deſire?
" In whoſe ſight all things joy, with raviſhment
" Attracted by thy beauty ſtill to gaze."
I roſe as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;
And on, methought, alone I paſs'd through ways
That brought me on a ſudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge: fair it ſeem'd,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
And, as I wondering look'd, beſide it ſtood

The reaſon of this alteration of the genders the judicious reader, when he examines each paſſage, will eaſily perceive. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. ——— *Heaven wakes with all his eyes,*] Here again he has his maſter Spenſer full in view, iii. xi. 45.

——— " with how many eyes
" High Heaven beholds &c." NEWTON.

He had, rather, G. Fletcher in view. See his *Chriſt's Victorie*, p. i. ſt. 78.

——— " *Heaven awaken'd all his eyes*
" To ſee another ſunne at midnight riſe."

Ver. 49. *To find thee I directed then my walk;*] So Ennius apud Ciceronem, *De Divinat.* i. 20.

——— " ita ſola
" Poſt illa, germana ſoror, errare videbar,
" Tardáque veſtigare, et quærere te, neque poſſe
" Corde capeſſere: ſemita nulla pedem ſtabilibat."
NEWTON.

One ſhap'd and wing'd like one of thoſe from Heaven
By us oft ſeen; his dewy locks diſtill'd
Ambroſia; on that tree he alſo gaz'd;
And "O fair plant," ſaid he, "with fruit ſurcharg'd,
"Deigns none to eaſe thy load, and taſte thy ſweet,
"Nor God, nor Man? Is knowledge ſo deſpis'd?
"Or envy, or what reſerve forbids to taſte?
"Forbid who will, none ſhall from me withhold
"Longer thy offer'd good; why elſe ſet here?"
This ſaid, he paus'd not, but with venturous arm
He pluck'd, he taſted; me damp horrour chill'd
At ſuch bold words vouch'd with a deed ſo bold:
But he thus, overjoy'd; "O fruit divine,
"Sweet of thyſelf, but much more ſweet thus cropt,
"Forbidden here, it ſeems, as only fit
"For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men:

Ver. 56. ——— *his dewy locks diſtill'd Ambroſia;*] So Virgil, of Venus, *Æn.* i. 403.

"Ambroſiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
"Spiravere." HUME.

Mr. Bowle cites from Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xv. ſt. 60.

——— "le ſue bionde
"Chiome *ſtillavan* criſtallino humore."

Spenſer, it may be added, tranſlates ἀμβρόσιαι χαῖται, which Homer gives Jupiter in the firſt *Iliad*, by the phraſe, "his *nectar-dewed locks*," *Faer. Qu.* vii. vi. 30.

" And why not Gods of Men; ſince good, the more
" Communicated, more abundant grows,
" The author not impair'd, but honour'd more?
" Here, happy creature, fair angelick Eve!
" Partake thou alſo; happy though thou art,
" Happier thou may'ſt be, worthier canſt not be:
" Taſte this, and be henceforth among the Gods
" Thyſelf a Goddeſs, not to earth confin'd,
" But ſometimes in the air, as we, ſometimes
" Aſcend to Heaven, by merit thine, and ſee
" What life the Gods live there, and ſuch live thou."
So ſaying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
Even to my mouth of that ſame fruit held part
Which he had pluck'd; the pleaſant ſavoury ſmell
So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought,
Could not but taſte. Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outſtretch'd immenſe, a proſpect wide
And various: Wondering at my flight and change
To this high exaltation; ſuddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, ſunk down,
And fell aſleep; but O, how glad I wak'd

Ver. 79. *But ſometimes in the air,* as we, *ſometimes* &c.] The words *as we* are ſo placed between the two ſentences, as equally to relate to both; and in the firſt ſentence the verb *be* is underſtood. PEARCE.

To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam anſwer'd ſad.
Beſt image of myſelf, and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in ſleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil ſprung, I fear;
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. But know, that in the ſoul
Are many leſſer faculties, that ſerve
Reaſon as chief; among theſe Fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful ſenſes repreſent,
She forms imaginations, aery ſhapes,
Which Reaſon, joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private cell, when nature reſts.
Oft in her abſence mimick Fancy wakes

Ver. 93. ——————— *Thus Eve her* night
Related,] Thus Eve repeated her *dream.* Night, for the viſions and dreams frequent in it. So, Sil. Ital. iii. 216.

" Promiſſa evolvit ſomni, *noctémque* retractat."

HUME.

Ver. 110. *Oft in her abſence mimick Fancy wakes*
To imitate her; but, misjoining ſhapes,
Wild work produces oft, and moſt in dreams;] Compare Sir John Davies's *Noſce tipſum*, p. 47, edit. 1608. of *" The Phantaſie :"*

" This buſie Power is working day and night;
" For, when the outward Senſes reſt do take,
" A thouſand Dreames, phantaſticall and light,
" With fluttering wings do keepe her ſtill awake."

To imitate her; but, misjoining ſhapes,
Wild work produces oft, and moſt in dreams;
Ill matching words and deeds long paſt or late.
Some ſuch reſemblances, methinks, I find
Of our laſt evening's talk, in this thy dream,
But with addition ſtrange; yet be not ſad.
Evil into the mind of God or Man
May come and go, ſo unapprov'd, and leave
No ſpot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
That what in ſleep thou didſt abhor to dream,
Waking thou never wilt conſent to do.
Be not diſhearten'd then, nor cloud thoſe looks,
That wont to be more cheerful and ſerene,
Than when fair morning firſt ſmiles on the world;

Ver. 117. *Evil into the mind of* God *or Man*] *God* here muſt ſignify *Angel*, as it frequently does in this poem. For "*God cannot be tempted with evil*," as St. James ſays (i. 13.) of the Supreme Being. And Milton had juſt before (as Mr. Thyer alſo obſerves) uſed the term *God* in the ſame meaning, ver. 59.

"Deigns none to eaſe thy load and taſte thy ſweet,
"Nor *God* nor Man?"

again, ver. 70.

—— "yet able to make *Gods* of Men." NEWTON.

Ver. 124. *Than when fair* morning *firſt* ſmiles *on the world*;] So, in v. 168.

"Sure pledge of day, that crown'ſt the *ſmiling morn*
"With thy bright circlet."

Again, B. xi. 173.

—— "ſee, the *morn*,
"All unconcern'd with our unreſt, begins
"Her roſy progreſs *ſmiling*."

So Shakſpeare, *Rom. and Juliet*, A. ii. S. iii.

"The gray-eyed *morn ſmiles* on the frowning night."

And let us to our freſh employments riſe
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
That open now their choiceſt boſom'd ſmells,
Reſerv'd from night, and kept for thee in ſtore.
So cheer'd he his fair ſpouſe, and ſhe was cheer'd;
But ſilently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready ſtood,
Each in their cryſtal ſluice, he ere they fell
Kiſs'd, as the gracious ſigns of ſweet remorſe
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.
So all was clear'd, and to the field they haſte.
But firſt, from under ſhady arborous roof
Soon as they forth were come to open ſight
Of day-ſpring, and the ſun, who, ſcarce up-riſen,
With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean-brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,

Ver. 129. *So cheer'd he his fair ſpouſe, and ſhe was cheer'd;*] A manner of ſpeaking that occurs in *Jeremiah* xx. 7. "*Thou haſt deceived me, and I was deceived.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 137. *But firſt, from under ſhady arborous roof*
Soon as they forth were come &c.] In Milton's own editions a comma ſtands after *roof*; which pointing is followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley. Dr. Pearce firſt noticed this miſtake, which repreſents the hymn of Adam and Eve as ſaid by them, at one and the ſame time, *from under the roof*, and *in the open ſight of the ſun*. This contradiction is obviated by his punctuation of the paſſage; of which he alſo gives this conſtruction: "But firſt, they lowly bow'd adoring, v. 144, as ſoon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbour."

Diſcovering in wide landſkip all the eaſt
Of Paradiſe and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
Their oriſons, each morning duly paid
In various ſtyle; for neither various ſtyle
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praiſe
Their Maker, in fit ſtrains pronounc'd, or ſung
Unmeditated; ſuch prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in proſe or numerous verſe,

Ver. 145. ——— *each morning duly paid*
In various ſtyle;] As it is very well known that our author was no friend to ſet forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he aſcribes extemporary effuſions to our firſt parents; but even while he attributes ſtrains *unmeditated* to them, he himſelf imitates the Pſalmiſt. NEWTON.

He has expreſſed the ſame notions of devotion, as Mr. Thyer has obſerved, in ſimilar terms, B. iv. 736.

——— "other *rites*
"Obſerving none, but adoration pure
"Which God likes beſt ——"

And it has been ſaid of the poet, that he did not in the latter part of his life uſe *any religious rite* in his family. But, as Dr. Gillies remarks, unleſs the proof be very clear, he, who obſerves how careful Milton is to mention the worſhip of Adam and Eve, B. iv. 720, B. v. 137, B. ix. 197, and B. xi. 136, will not be eaſily induced to believe that he entirely neglected the worſhip of God in his family.

Ver. 150. ——— numerous verſe,] An expreſſion in P. Fletcher's *Piſc. Eclogues*, 1633. p. 2.

——— "I learnt to ſing
"Among my peers, apt words to fitly binde
"In *numerous verſe.*"

More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more ſweetneſs; and they thus began.
  Theſe are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty! Thine this univerſal frame,
Thus wonderous fair; Thyſelf how wonderous
  then!
Unſpeakable, who ſitſt above theſe heavens
To us inviſible, or dimly ſeen
In theſe thy loweſt works; yet theſe declare
Thy goodneſs beyond thought, and power divine.
Speak, ye who beſt can tell, ye ſons of light,
Angels; for ye behold him, and with ſongs

Ver. 153. *Theſe are thy glorious works*, &c.] The author has raiſed our expectation, by commending the *various ſtyle*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence*, of our firſt parents; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully anſwer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a ſort of paraphraſe, of the 148th *Pſalm*, and (of what is a paraphraſe upon that) the *Canticle* placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, "*O all ye works of the Lord, bleſs ye the Lord*, &c." which is the Song of the three children in the Apocrypha. NEWTON.

Ver. 155. ——— *Thyſelf how wonderous then!*] *Wiſd.* xiii. 3, 4, 5. "With whoſe beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the firſt Author of beauty hath created them. But if they were aſtoniſhed at their power and virtue, let them underſtand by them how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatneſs and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the Maker of them is ſeen." NEWTON.

Ver. 160. *Speak, ye who beſt can tell*, &c.] He is *unſpeakable*, v. 156: No creature can ſpeak worthily of him as he is; but ſpeak, ye who are beſt able, ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on Earth join all ye Creatures, &c. NEWTON.

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And choral ſymphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven.
On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt, and without end.
Faireſt of ſtars, laſt in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'ſt the ſmiling morn
With thy bright circlet, praiſe him in thy ſphere,
While day ariſes, that ſweet hour of prime.

Ver. 162. ——————— *day without night,*] According to Milton there was *grateful viciſſitude like day and night in Heaven*, B. vi. 8. And we preſume that he took the notion from Scripture, *Rev.* vii. 15. "*They are before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple.*" But ſtill it was *day without night*, that is, without ſuch night as ours, for the darkneſs there is no more than *grateful twilight. Night comes not there in darker veil.* See ver. 645. of this book. NEWTON.

Ver. 163. *Circle his throne rejoicing*;] See Mr. Warton's note, Ad Salſillum, *Scazontes*, v. 4.

Ver. 165. *Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt,*] Theocritus, *Idyl.* xvii. 3.

——————— ἐν πρώτοισι λιγέσθω,
Καὶ μάτος, καὶ μέσσος.

And then how has Milton improved it, by adding *and without end!* as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man. NEWTON.

Ver. 166. *Faireſt of ſtars,*] So Homer calls it, *Iliad* xxii. 318.

Ἔσπερε, ὃς κάλλιστος ὁ ἑρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ.

Laſt in the train of night: Ovid ſpeaks much in the ſame manner, *Met.* ii. 114.

——— "diffugiunt ſtellæ, quarum agmina cogit
"Lucifer, et cœli ſtatione *noviſſimus* exit." NEWTON.

Ver. 170. *While day ariſes, that ſweet hour of prime.*] He has thus expreſſed the beauty of the morning, in *Samſon Agoniſtes:*

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and ſoul,
Acknowledge him thy greater; ſound his praiſe
In thy eternal courſe, both when thou climb'ſt,
And when high noon haſt gain'd, and when thou fall'ſt.
Moon, that now meet'ſt the orient ſun, now fly'ſt,

——————— "here I feel amends,
"The breath of Heaven freſh-blowing, pure and ſweet,
"With day-ſpring born."

The poet was an early riſer. See note on *Lycidas*, v. 27.

Ver. 172. *Acknowledge him* thy greater;] It is not an improbable reading which Dr. Bentley propoſes "Acknowledge him *Creator*," or as Mr. Thyer "Acknowledge *thy Creator*:" but I ſuppoſe the author made uſe of *greater* anſwering to *great*.

"Thou Sun of this *great* world both eye and ſoul,
"Acknowledge him thy *greater*."

So Ovid calls the ſun *the eye of the world*, "Mundi oculus," *Met.* iv. 228. And Pliny *the ſoul*, *Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. i. c. 6. "Hunc mundi eſſe totius *animum*." And the expreſſion *thy greater* may be fitly paralleled with *thy fierceſt*, B. iv. 927, and *his greater* in *Paradiſe Regained*, B. i. 279. NEWTON.

Ver. 173. *In thy* eternal *courſe*,] In thy *continual* courſe. Thus Virgil calls the ſun, moon and ſtars *eternal* fires, *Æn.* ii. 154. "Vos, *æterni* ignes;" and the ſacred fire that was conſtantly kept burning *eternal* fire, *Æn.* ii. 297.

"*Æternumque* adytis effert penetralibus ignem,"
NEWTON.

Ver. 174. *And when* high noon *haſt gain'd*,] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Penſ.* v. 68.

Ver. 175. *Moon, that now meet'ſt the orient ſun, now fly'ſt*, &c.] The conſtruction is, "Thou Moon, that now meet'ſt and now fly'ſt the orient ſun, together with the fix'd Stars, and ye five other wandering Fires, &c." He had before called upon the *ſun* who governs the day, and now he invokes the *moon*, and the *fix'd ſtars*, and the *planets*, who govern the night, to praiſe their

With the fix'd Stars, fix'd in their orb that flies;
And ye five other wandering Fires, that move
In myſtick dance not without ſong, reſound
His praiſe, who out of darkneſs call'd up light.
Air, and ye Elements, the eldeſt birth
Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run

Maker. The moon ſometimes *meets* and ſometimes *flies* the ſun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly courſe. *With the fix'd Stars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are fix'd in their orb, but their orb flies, that is, moves round with the utmoſt rapidity; for Adam is made to ſpeak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, B. viii. 19 and 21, their *rolling ſpaces incomprehenſible*, and their *ſwift return diurnal*. *And ye five other wandring Fires*. Dr. Bentley reads *four*; Venus, and the Sun, and Moon, being mentioned before, and only four more remaining, Mercury, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Saturn. And we muſt either ſuppoſe that Milton did not conſider the morning ſtar as the planet Venus; or he muſt be ſuppoſed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* beſides thoſe he had mentioned; and he calls it elſewhere B. viii. 129. *The planet earth*; though this be not agreeable to the ſyſtem, according to which he is ſpeaking at preſent. *Wandering Fires* in oppoſition to *fix'd Stars*. *That move in myſtick dance not without ſong*, alluding to the doctrine of the ancients, and particularly to Pythagoras's notion of the muſick of the ſpheres. NEWTON.

See notes on v. 620, and on *Arcades*, v. 72.

Ver. 181. ——— *that in quaternion run* &c.] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrowed from Orpheus. "Et cum quatuor ſint genera corporum, viciſſitudine eorum mundi continuata natura eſt. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther: deinde retrorſum viciſſim ex æthere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia conſtant, ſurſus, deorſus, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de *Nat. Deor.* ii. 33. NEWTON.

Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix
And nouriſh all things; let your ceaſeleſs change
Vary to our great Maker ſtill new praiſe.
Ye Miſts and Exhalations, that now riſe
From hill or ſteaming lake, duſky or gray,
Till the ſun paint your fleecy ſkirts with gold,
In honour to the world's great Author riſe;
Whether to deck with clouds the uncolour'd ſky,
Or wet the thirſty earth with falling ſhowers,
Riſing or falling ſtill advance his praiſe.
His praiſe, ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,
Breathe ſoft or loud; and, wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every plant, in ſign of worſhip wave.
Fountains, and ye that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praiſe.
Join voices all ye living Souls; Ye Birds,

Ver. 193. ——— *and, wave your tops, ye Pines,*] The Mountains, crowned with trees, bow their heads in ſign of worſhip, in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. ii. And Pope has expreſſed the ſame reverence, in his *Meſſiah*, where he deſcribes the approaching Deity:

"With heads declin'd, ye Cedars, homage pay."

Ver. 195. *Fountains, and ye that* warble, *as ye flow,*] So, in an Ode of Ben Jonſon's to Joh. Aſhmore, in *Certaine ſelected Odes of Horace*, 1621, p. 23;

"Or circling ſtreames that *warble*, paſſing by."

Milton uſes the ſame elegant phraſe, B. iii. 31.

That ſinging up to Heaven-gate aſcend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praiſe.
Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
The earth, and ſtately tread, or lowly creep;
Witneſs if I be ſilent, morn or even,

Ver. 198. *That ſinging up to* Heaven-gate *aſcend,*] The ſame hyperbole in Shakſpeare's *Cymbeline*,

" Hark! hark! the lark at *heaven's gate* ſings:"

Again, in his xxix *Sonnet*,

" Like as the lark, at break of day ariſing
" From ſullen earth, ſings hymns at *heaven's gate.*"

NEWTON.

Mr. Reed is of opinion, that Shakſpeare had in his mind Lyly's *Alexander and Campaſpe*; for it is there ſaid of the *lark*,

" Now at *heaven's gates* ſhe claps her wings."

A paſſage may be added from P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, c. ix. ſt. 2.

" The cheerfull lark, mounting from early bed,
" With ſweet ſalutes awakes the drowſie light;
" The earth ſhe left, and *up to heaven* is fled;
" There *chants her Maker's praiſes* out of ſight."

So Milton,

" *Bear* on your wings and *in your notes his praiſe.*"

I find this ſentiment alſo expreſſed in *An Entertainment of Solitarineſſe*, by Sir Richard Tempeſt, 1649, p. 94. " There can in no place be wanting groves, rivers, *ſinging of birds*:—the *muſick of the birds* without, are all God's creatures, which, as it were, *in ſo many diverſified notes, doe ſweetly ſing their Maker's prayſe.*"

Ver. 202. *Witneſs if* I *be ſilent,*] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton had forgotten that both Adam and Eve ſhared in this hymn, and therefore he reads " If *we* be ſilent," and in the

To hill, or valley, fountain, or freſh ſhade,
Made vocal by my ſong, and taught his praiſe.
Hail, univerſal Lord, be bounteous ſtill
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gather'd aught of evil or conceal'd,
Diſperſe it, as now light diſpels the dark!

next verſe but one "by *our* ſong:" But Milton rather imitates here the ancient chorus, where ſometimes the plural, and ſometimes the ſingular number is uſed. The ſame is practiſed by our poet in the ſpeeches of the chorus in *Samſon Agoniſtes*, where the reader will ſee in every page almoſt that the number is thus varied. Dr. Bentley obſerves, that the whole hymn naturally divides itſelf into parts interlocutory, and that he has preſumed to put it ſo, though not warranted by any edition. But this is not Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was ſet to muſick ſome years ago, and in that compoſition the ſeveral parts of it were aſſigned diſtinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that ſuch interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an heroick poem.

PEARCE.

Ver. 205. ——— *be bounteous ſtill*
To give us only good;] He had his thought, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἰυχομένοις καὶ ἀεύχτοις
Ἄμμι δίδυ· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ ἰυχομένων ἀπέρυκε.

"O Jupiter, give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even though we pray for them." And we learn from the firſt book of Xenophon's memoirs of his maſter Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew beſt what things were ſo. Εὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα ἰδότας ὁποῖα ἀγαθά ἐστι. And to the ſame purpoſe there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity. "*We humbly beſeech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us thoſe things which be profitable for us.*" NEWTON.

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts
Firm peace recover'd ſoon, and wonted calm.
On to their morning's rural work they haſte,
Among ſweet dews and flowers; where any row
Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far
Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check

Ver. 209. *So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts*
Firm peace recover'd *ſoon, and wonted calm.*
On to their morning's rural work they haſte, &c.]
Theſe verſes are thus pointed in the beſt, that is, in Milton's own, editions: but the latter ſentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work* &c. Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the ſentence reads thus,

"So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts
"Firm peace *recovering* ſoon and wonted calm,
"On to their morning's rural work they haſte &c."

Dr. Pearce thinks the ſentence ſufficiently continued in the common reading, if *recover'd* be a participle of the ablative caſe; and conceives this to be the conſtruction, "*Peace and calm* being *recover'd to their thoughts, they haſte* &c;" and accordingly points it thus,

——"and, to their thoughts
"Firm peace recover'd ſoon and wonted calm,
"On to their morning's rural work they haſte."

But perhaps the abruptneſs of the line

"On to their morning's rural work they haſte"

was deſigned the better to expreſs the haſte they were in, as they were later to-day than uſual: Or perhaps with an eaſy alteration it may be read thus,

"*Then* to their morning's rural work they haſte."

NEWTON.

Ver. 214. *Their* pamper'd *boughs*,] The propriety of this expreſſion will beſt be ſeen by what Junius ſays of the etymology

Fruitleſs embraces: or they led the vine
To wed her elm; ſhe, ſpous'd, about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dower, the adopted cluſters, to adorn
His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
With pity Heaven's high King, and to him call'd
Raphael, the ſociable Spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and ſecur'd
His marriage with the ſeventimes-wedded maid.
Raphael, ſaid he, thou hear'ſt what ſtir on Earth

of *pamper*: "The French word *pampre*, of the Latin *pampinus*, is a vine-branch full of leaves: And a vineyard," he obſerves, "is ſaid by them *pamprer*, when it is over-grown with ſuperfluous leaves and fruitleſs branches." NEWTON.

Ver. 216. *To wed her elm*;] See Horace, *Epod.* ii. 9. &c. Adam and Eve are very well employed in *checking fruitleſs embraces*, and *leading the vine to wed her elm*: That is very fitly made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in Ovid as an argument to marriage, *Met.* xiv. 661, &c. Virgil alſo has the metaphor of the vine embracing the elm, *Georg.* ii. 367. And not only the poets, but Columella and the writers of ruſtick affairs, frequently uſe the phraſes of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*." NEWTON.

Ver. 224. *Raphael, ſaid he, thou hear'ſt what ſtir on Earth* &c.] Milton, in the following ſcene, ſeems to have had his eye in a particular manner upon the ninth canto of Taſſo's *Jeruſalem*, where God ſends Michael to aſſiſt the Chriſtians. What God ſays here to Raphael, is expreſſed much after the ſame manner in the beginning of God's ſpeech to Michael, ſt. 58.

——— "Non vedi hor come s' armi
"Contra la mia fedel diletta greggia
"L' empia ſchiera d'Averno." THYER.

Satan, from Hell 'ſcap'd through the darkſome gulf,
Hath rais'd in Paradiſe; and how diſturb'd
This night the human pair; how he deſigns
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converſe with Adam, in what bower or ſhade
Thou find'ſt him from the heat of noon retir'd,
To reſpite his day-labour with repaſt,
Or with repoſe; and ſuch diſcourſe bring on,
As may adviſe him of his happy ſtate,
Happineſs in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He ſwerve not, too ſecure: Tell him withal
His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
Late fall'n himſelf from Heaven, is plotting now
The fall of others from like ſtate of bliſs;
By violence? no, for that ſhall be withſtood;
But by deceit and lies: This let him know,
Leſt, wilfully tranſgreſſing, he pretend
Surpriſal, unadmoniſh'd, unforewarn'd.
So ſpake the Eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All juſtice: Nor delay'd the winged Saint

Ver. 235. *Happineſs in his power left free to will,*] That is, in the power of him left free to will. NEWTON.

Ver. 247. ——— *Nor delay'd the winged Saint* &c.] It perhaps would be an entertainment to the curious reader, to compare this circumſtantial deſcription of Raphael's deſcent from Heaven with that of Michael in Taſſo's *Gier. Lib.* c. 9. ſt. 60,

After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thouſand celeſtial Ardours, where he ſtood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up ſpringing light,
Flew through the midſt of Heaven; the angelick quires,
On each hand parting, to his ſpeed gave way
Through all the empyreal road; till, at the gate
Of Heaven arriv'd, the gate ſelf-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work
Divine the ſovran Architect had fram'd.
From hence no cloud, or, to obſtruct his ſight,

61, 62. They ſeem both to have been much laboured by their reſpective authors, and have each their particular beauties and defects. Milton does not in this place ſeem to endeavour to imitate, as he does in many others, the Italian poet, but rather to ſtrive to rival and outdo him, and to have choſen, for that purpoſe, circumſtances of a different ſort to embelliſh his deſcription. Which has ſucceeded beſt, every reader muſt determine for himſelf. THYER.

Ver. 249. *Thouſand celeſtial* Ardours,] By the word *Ardours* here Milton only means *Seraphim*, which ſignifies juſt the ſame in Hebrew (being derived from *zaraph* to burn) as *Ardours* in Engliſh. The poet, I ſuppoſe, only made uſe of this term to diverſify his language a little, as he is forced to mention the word *Seraph* and *Seraphim* in ſo many places. THYER.

Ardours is one of Dante's words for *Angels*; and perhaps Milton adopted it from him.

Ver. 255. *On* golden hinges *turning*,] See note, B. vii. 205.

Ver. 257. *From hence no cloud, or, to obſtruct his ſight,*
Star interpos'd,] The comma after "*interpos'd*," ſhows that it is here a participle in the ablative caſe put abſolutely; and the conſtruction is, "From hence, no cloud or ſtar

Star interpos'd, however ſmall he ſees,
Not unconform to other ſhining globes,
Earth, and the garden of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills. As when by night the glaſs
Of Galileo, leſs aſſur'd, obſerves
Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
Or pilot, from amidſt the Cyclades
Delos or Samos firſt appearing, kens
A cloudy ſpot. Down thither prone in flight
He ſpeeds, and through the vaſt ethereal ſky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with ſteady wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air; till, within ſoar
Of towering eagles, to all the fowls he ſeems
A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that ſole bird,

being interpoſed to obſtruct his ſight, he ſees, however ſmall *it is, appearing very ſmall at that diſtance*, the earth not unlike to other ſhining globes, and *in it Paradiſe*, the garden of God, *that was* crowned with cedars *which were higher than the higheſt* hills." NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ——————— *obſerves*] The glaſs *obſerves*; a poetical expreſſion, the inſtrument put for the perſon who makes uſe of it. NEWTON.

Ver. 266. ——— *Down thither prone in flight* &c.] Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 253.

——" hinc toto præceps ſe corpore ad undas
" Miſit, avi ſimilis." NEWTON.

Ver. 272. *A phœnix*,] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking *the ſhape of a phœnix*; and the objection would be very juſt if Milton had ſaid any ſuch thing: but he only ſays, that " to all the fowls he *ſeems* a phœnix;" he was not really a

When, to enſhrine his reliques in the Sun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
At once on the eaſtern cliff of Paradiſe
He lights, and to his proper ſhape returns
A Seraph wing'd: Six wings he wore, to ſhade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each ſhoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breaſt
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a ſtarry zone his waiſt, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipt in Heaven; the third his feet

phœnix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the ancients, but generally looked upon by the moderns as fabulous. The naturaliſts ſpeak of it as ſingle, or the only one of its kind; and therefore it is called here "that *ſole bird*," as it had been before by Taſſo, where Armida is, in like manner, compared to a phœnix, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. ſt. 35.

"Come all'hor, che 'l rinato *unico augello* &c." NEWTON.

The ſame compariſon of an angel to a phœnix, is alſo in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. ii. ſt. 122.

Ver. 276. ——— *and to his proper* ſhape *returns*] The word *ſhape* here, I ſuppoſe, occaſioned Dr. Bentley to ſay that Milton makes Raphael *take the ſhape* of a phœnix. But, by *returning to his proper ſhape*, Milton means only that he ſtood on his feet, and gathered up his wings into their proper place and ſituation. PEARCE.

Or, as another ingenious perſon expreſſes it, he ſeemed again, what he really was, *A Seraph wing'd*; whereas in his flight he appeared, what he was not, *A phœnix*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. ——— *Six wings he wore,*] The Seraphim ſeen by *Iſaiah*, vi. 2, had the ſame number of wings, but differently diſpoſed. NEWTON.

Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's ſon he ſtood,
And ſhook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance fill'd

Ver. 284. ——————— *with feather'd mail,*
Sky-tinctur'd grain.] Feathers lie one ſhort of another, reſembling the plates of metal of which *coats of mail* are compoſed. Sky-coloured, *dyed in grain*, to expreſs beauty and durableneſs. RICHARDSON.

Pope has expanded this fine compound *ſky-tinctured*, into a whole line, *Rape of the Lock*, Canto ii.

" Dipt in the richeſt tincture of the ſkies."

Ver. 285. ——— *Like Maia's ſon he ſtood*, &c.] It has been obſerved by Hume and Dr. Newton, that Milton, in comparing the Angel to Mercury, *Maia's ſon*, had in view the deſcription of Mercury's flight and deſcent to the earth, *Iliad* xxiv. 339 &c. and *Æneid* iv. 238 &c. Pope has noticed the ſame; but without allowing that ſuperiority to Milton which the other criticks have given him; a ſuperiority, as Hume ſays, like that of a ſeraph to a fiction. The reader may alſo compare, as Dr. Newton adds, this deſcent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Taſſo, c. i. ſt. 13, &c.

But, as Dr. Pearce remarks, it is the graceful poſture in ſtanding, after alighting, that is particularly compared to Mercury, *Æn.* iv. 253.

" Hic paribus primùm nitens Cyllenius alis
" *Conſtitit.*"

And Dr. Newton ſubjoins, that the idea might be firſt taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique ſtatues of Mercury; but that Milton might have it more immediately from Shakſpeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. iv.

" A *ſtation*, like the herald Mercury,
" New-lighted on a heaven-kiſſing hill."

Ver. 286. *And ſhook his plumes*, &c.] The image of the Angel's ſhaking his fragrant plumes is borrowed particularly from Fairfax's *Taſſo*, c. i. ſt. 14.

The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the bands
Of Angels under watch; and to his ſtate,
And to his meſſage high, in honour riſe;
For on ſome meſſage high they gueſs'd him bound.
Their glittering tents he paſs'd, and now is come
Into the bliſsful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flowering odours, caſſia, nard, and balm;
A wilderneſs of ſweets; for Nature here

" On Lebanon at firſt he ſet,
" And ſhook his wings with roarie may-dews wet."
NEWTON.

The Angel, ſent to Mary, in Sannazarius, thus expands his wings, *De Partu Virg.* lib. i. v. 107.

——————" ingentes *explicat* alas,
" Ac tectis latè *infuetum diffundit odorem.*"

So Pope, *Abelard and Eloiſa*, v. 218.

" And *wings* of ſeraphs *ſhed divine perfumes.*"

And Collins, with remarkable elegance, has thus painted *Mirth*, in his Ode to the *Paſſions:*

" And he, amidſt his frolick play,
" As if he would the charming air repay,
" *Shook* thouſand *odours from his dewy wings.*"

Ver. 288. ——————— *and to his ſtate,*
And to his meſſage high, in honour riſe;] With the ſame reſpect as the Muſes pay to Gallus in Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 66.

" Utque viro Phœbi chorus *aſſurrexerit* omnis."
NEWTON.

Ver. 294. ——————— *Nature here*
Wanton'd *as in her* prime,] Compare Lyly's *Woman in the Moone*, 1597, at the beginning, where *Nature* is the ſpeaker:

Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more ſweet,
Wild above rule or art, enormous bliſs.
Him through the ſpicy foreſt onward come
Adam diſcern'd, as in the door he ſat
Of his cool bower, while now the mounted ſun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's inmoſt womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner ſavoury fruits, of taſte to pleaſe
True appetite, and not diſreliſh thirſt
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky ſtream,
Berry or grape: To whom thus Adam call'd.

" *Nature* deſcends from farre aboue the ſpheeres,
" To *fielded* heere in fayre Vtopia;
" Where *my chiefe workes do flouriſh in their prime*,
" And *nature* in their firſt ſimplicitie."

Ver. 297. *Wild above rule or art, enormous bliſs.*] All the editions point this line with a colon or ſemi-colon after *art*, till that of 1727; from which I have here ſubſtituted a comma, agreeably alſo to the ſuggeſtion of Dr. Newton; *enormous bliſs* being the accuſative caſe after *pouring forth*, which bliſs was the *more ſweet*, as it was *wild above rule or art*. I find the paſſage thus pointed alſo, in Harris's *Philological Inquiries*, P. iii. c. xiii. p. 496.

Ver. 299. ——— *as in the door he ſat*] So Abraham "*ſat in the tent-door, in the heat of the day*," when he was viſited by three Angels, *Gen.* xviii. 1. From that paſſage our poet formed this incident. BENTLEY.

From the ſame chapter the poet has alſo formed the entertainment of the Angel by Adam and Eve.

Haſte hither, Eve, and worth thy ſight behold
Eaſtward among thoſe trees, what glorious ſhape
Comes this way moving; ſeems another morn
Ris'n on mid-noon; ſome great beheſt from Heaven
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchſafe
This day to be our gueſt. But go with ſpeed,
And, what thy ſtores contain, bring forth, and pour
Abundance, fit to honour and receive
Our heavenly ſtranger: Well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large beſtow
From large beſtow'd, where Nature multiplies
Her fertile growth, and by diſburdening grows
More fruitful, which inſtructs us not to ſpare.

Ver. 310. ——————— *ſeems another morn*
Ris'n on mid-noon;] An expreſſion probably borrowed from Marino, upon a ſudden appearance of a glory much of the ſame kind, *Adon.* c. xi. ſt. 27.

" *Ed ecco un luſtro lampeggiar d'intorno*
" *Che ſole à ſole aggiunſe, e giorno à giorno.*" THYER.

See the Song in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, Reed's *Old Pl.* vol. x. p. 295.

" Whiles early light ſprings from the ſkies,
" A fairer from your bride doth riſe;
" A brighter day doth thence appear,
" And make a *ſecond morning* there."

Compare alſo Harington's *Polindor and Floſtella*, 1651. p. 8. of Floſtella's " diſrobing herſelf;"

——————" ſeeming to ſhoot,
" New light into thoſe ſhades, as though
" *Another Morne were roſe* below."

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mould,
Of God inſpir'd! ſmall ſtore will ſerve, where ſtore,
All ſeaſons, ripe for uſe hangs on the ſtalk;
Save what by frugal ſtoring firmneſs gains
To nouriſh, and ſuperfluous moiſt conſumes:
But I will haſte, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and jucieſt gourd, will pluck ſuch choice
To entertain our Angel-gueſt, as he
Beholding ſhall confeſs, that here on Earth
God hath diſpens'd his bounties as in Heaven.
So ſaying, with deſpatchful looks in haſte
She turns, on hoſpitable thoughts intent

Ver. 325. ——— *and ſuperfluous moiſt conſumes:*] This is rather too philoſophical for the female character of Eve: And, in my opinion, one of Milton's greateſt faults is his introducing inconſiſtencies in the characters both of Angels and Man, by mixing too much with them his own philoſophical notions.

THYER.

Ver. 326. ——— *and from each bough and* brake,
Each plant and jucieſt gourd,] Dr. Bentley would read *branch* inſtead of *brake*, thinking that proviſions are not to be gathered from brakes: but *bough*, *brake*, *plant*, and *gourd*, expreſs here all the ſeveral kinds of things which produce fruits. The *bough* belongs to fruit trees; the *plant* is ſuch as that which produces ſtrawberries &c.; the *gourd* includes all kinds that lie on the earth; and the *brake* is the ſpecies between trees and plants; of this ſort are (I think) the buſhes which yield currants, blackberries, gooſe-berries, raſberries, &c. But if we read with the Doctor *branch*, it will be a ſuperfluous word, becauſe of *bough* which preceded it. PEARCE.

What choice to chooſe for delicacy beſt,
What order, ſo contriv'd as not to mix
Taſtes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
Taſte after taſte upheld with kindlieſt change;
Beſtirs her then, and from each tender ſtalk
Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields
In India Eaſt or Weſt, or middle ſhore
In Pontus or the Punick coaſt, or where
Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough, or ſmooth rind, or bearded huſk, or ſhell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unſparing hand; for drink the grape

Ver. 333. *What choice to chooſe*] This ſort of jingle is very uſual in Milton, as to *move motion*, B. viii. 130. *thoughts miſthought*, B. ix. 289. *ſinn'd ſin*, B. xi. 427. And it is not unuſual in the beſt claſſick authors, as in Terence, *Andr.* v. 8.

" Nam hunc ſcio mea ſolide ſolum *gaudium gaudia*:"

and in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 680.

" ——hunc, oro, ſine me *furere* ante *furorem*:"

and many more inſtances might be given. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields*] So the Greeks call her Παμμῆτορ γῆ, and the Latins *Omniparens*. NEWTON.

Ver. 339. —— *or middle ſhore* &c.] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; *in Pontus*, part of Aſia, *or the Punick coaſt*, part of Africa, *or where Alcinous reign'd*, in a Grecian iſland in the Ionian ſea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently called Phæacia, then Corcyra, now Corfu. The ſoil is fruitful in oil, wine, and moſt excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by Homer. HUME.

Ver. 344. —— *for drink the grape*
She cruſhes, inoffenſive muſt,] By the word *inoffenſive* Milton intends to hint at the later invention of ferment-

She cruſhes, inoffenſive muſt, and meaths
From many a berry, and from ſweet kernels preſs'd
She tempers dulcet creams; nor theſe to hold
Wants her fit veſſels pure; then ſtrows the ground
With roſe and odours from the ſhrub unfum'd.
Mean while our primitive great ſire, to meet
His God-like gueſt, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himſelf was all his ſtate,
More ſolemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horſes led, and grooms beſmear'd with gold,

ing the juice of the grape, and thereby giving it an intoxicating quality. This he would ſay was not the wine of Paradiſe. THYER.

Ver. 345. ——— *and meaths*] Sweet drinks like mead. A word uſed by Chaucer, and perhaps derived from μέθυ. NEWTON.

Ver. 349. ——— *from the ſhrub unfum'd.*] That is, not burnt and exhaling ſmoke as in fumigations, but with its natural ſcent. HEYLIN.

Ver. 351. ——— *without more train*
Accompanied than with his own &c.] *Without more than with* is a ſolœciſm. It ſhould be "*without more train than his own complete perfections,*" *with* being expunged. But he gave it "*with no more train than with* &c." BENTLEY.

Ver. 356. ——— *beſmear'd with gold,*] Horace's "*aurum veſtibus illitum,*" *Od.* iv. ix. 14. comes neareſt to it. HUME.

Virgil has uſed a like expreſſion, *Æn.* x. 314.

"Per tunicam *ſqualentem auro.*" RICHARDSON.

Dazzles the croud, and ſets them all agape.
Nearer his preſence Adam, though not aw'd,
Yet with ſubmiſs approach and reverence meek,
As to a ſuperiour nature bowing low,
Thus ſaid. Native of Heaven, for other place
None can than Heaven ſuch glorious ſhape contain;
Since, by deſcending from the thrones above,
Thoſe happy places thou haſt deign'd a while
To want, and honour theſe, vouchſafe with us
Two only, who yet by ſovran gift poſſeſs
This ſpacious ground, in yonder ſhady bower
To reſt; and what the garden choiceſt bears
To ſit and taſte, till this meridian heat
Be over, and the ſun more cool decline.
Whom thus the angelick Virtue anſwer'd mild.

Ver. 357. *Dazzles the croud, and ſets them all* agape.] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 463.

" Nec varios *inhiant* pulchra teſtudine poſtes." JORTIN.

Ver. 361. ——— *Native of Heaven, for other place*
None can than Heaven ſuch glorious ſhape contain;] Milton, in the turn of theſe words, very plainly alludes to what Æneas ſays to Venus in the firſt *Æneid*, ver. 327.

" O, quam te memorem, Virgo? namque haud tibi vultus
" Mortalis, nec vox hominem ſonat; O Dea certe."

THYER.

Ver. 369. *To ſit and taſte,*] See Dr. Pearce's note, B. ii. 917.

Ver. 371. *Whom thus the* angelick Virtue] The *angel:* Thus Homer uſes Πριάμοιο βίην, *the ſtrength of Priam*, for *Priam himſelf*, *Il.* iii. 105; and Ἕκτορος μένος for *Hector*, *Il.* xiv. 418. And *Odyſſ.* vii. 167.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄκουσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο,

Adam, I therefore came; nor art thou ſuch
Created, or ſuch place haſt here to dwell,
As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven,
To viſit thee; lead on then where thy bower
O'erſhades; for theſe mid-hours, till evening riſe,
I have at will. So to the ſylvan lodge
They came, that like Pomona's arbour ſmil'd,
With flowerets deck'd, and fragrant ſmells; but Eve,
Undeck'd ſave with herſelf, more lovely fair
Than Wood-Nymph, or the faireſt Goddeſs feign'd

" After the *ſacred ſtrength of Alcinous* had heard that." Imitated twice by Virgil, odora *canum vis* for *dogs*, *Æn.* iv. 132: *Vimque Deûm* infernam, the infernal deities, *Æn.* xii. 149. HUME.

Ver. 378. ——— *Pomona's arbour*] The Goddeſs of fruit-trees might well be ſuppoſed to have a delightful arbour, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. *Met.* xiv. 623, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 380. *Undeck'd ſave with herſelf,*] This is *ſimplex munditiis* indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contraſt to Ovid's deſcription of the fine lady full dreſs'd,

——— " pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui."

It calls to mind that memorable ſaying, " Induitur, formoſa eſt; exuitur, ipſa forma eſt." *Dreſs'd, ſhe is beautiful; undreſs'd, ſhe is beauty itſelf.* With the ſame elegance of expreſſion, deſcribing Adam, he has ſaid,

——— " in himſelf was all his ſtate." NEWTON.

Ver. 381. ——— *or the faireſt Goddeſs feign'd*
Of three &c.] He alludes to the conteſt for beauty, the " *certamina* Dearum" of Ovid, between Venus, Juno, and

Of three that in mount Ida naked ſtrove,
Stood to entertain her gueſt from Heaven; no veil
She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel *Hail*
Beſtow'd, the holy ſalutation us'd
Long after to bleſt Mary, ſecond Eve.
Hail, Mother of Mankind, whoſe fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy ſons,
Than with theſe various fruits the trees of God
Have heap'd this table.—Rais'd of graſſy turf
Their table was, and moſſy ſeats had round,
And on her ample ſquare from ſide to ſide
All autumn pil'd, though ſpring and autumn here

Minerva. The turn of the expreſſion is not unlike Drummond's deſcription of a beautiful virgin, *Poems* 1616. Part ſecond.

" No *Deitie faign'd*, which haunts the ſilent woods,
" Is like to her, &c."

Ver. 384. ——— *virtue*-proof;] *Proof* is uſed in the old poets for armour, Shakſpeare, *Rom. and Jul.* A. i.

" And, in ſtrong *proof* of chaſtity well arm'd,
" From love's weak childiſh bow ſhe lives unharm'd."
NEWTON.

Ver. 387. ——— *to bleſt Mary, ſecond Eve.*] See *Luke* i. 28. She is called *ſecond Eve*, as Chriſt is ſometimes called *ſecond Adam*. NEWTON.

Ver. 394. *All autumn pil'd,*] The table had moſſy ſeats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it, that is, the fruits of autumn. So in Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 5.

——— " pampineo gravidus autumno
" Floret ager."

Danc'd hand in hand. A while diſcourſe they hold;
No fear leſt dinner cool; when thus began
Our author. Heavenly ſtranger, pleaſe to taſte
Theſe bounties, which our Nouriſher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeaſur'd out, deſcends,
To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
The earth to yield; unſavoury food perhaps
To ſpiritual natures; only this I know,
That one celeſtial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
(Whoſe praiſe be ever ſung) to Man in part
Spiritual, may of pureſt Spirits be found
No ingrateful food: And food alike thoſe pure
Intelligential ſubſtances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain
Within them every lower faculty

It may be obſerved here (as Dr. Greenwood adds) that when Milton introduces any thing that might give occaſion to a captious critick to inquire how Adam could be furniſhed with ſuch utenſils in his firſt ſtate; he has always the caution ſo to explain himſelf as to prevent any miſtake. Thus when he has mentioned the *table*, he tells us it was *rais'd of graſſy turf*. A little above, ver. 348, where he ſays Eve *wanted not fit veſſels*, he takes no farther notice of them there, becauſe the reader was prepared to underſtand it by a paſſage in B. iv. 335.

——— "and in the rind,
"Still as they thirſted, ſcoop the brimming ſtream."

NEWTON.

Ver. 407. *No ingrateful food:*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, *Pſal.* lxxviii. 25; that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and to advance theſe notions of the Angels eating. NEWTON.

Of ſenſe, whereby they hear, ſee, ſmell, touch, taſte,
Taſting concoct, digeſt, aſſimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created, needs
To be ſuſtain'd and fed: Of elements

Ver. 415. ——— *of elements* &c.] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, though we entirely agree with him in wiſhing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philoſophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great miſtake to attribute the *ſpots* in the moon, (which are owing to the inequalities of her ſurface, and to the different nature of her conſtituent parts, land and water) to attribute them, I ſay, to *vapours not yet turn'd into her ſubſtance*. It is certainly very *unphiloſophical* to ſay that the ſun *ſups with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical*. And whatever other faults are found in theſe lines, they are not ſo properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of thoſe ſyſtems of philoſophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after the late diſcoveries and improvements in ſcience, he would have written in another manner. It is allowed by all philoſophers, that the ſun and fixed ſtars receive their ſupplies of nouriſhment; but in what manner they are fed and ſupplied is a great queſtion: And ſurely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in ſpeaking of theſe things, than to a philoſopher. The ſame kind of thought runs through the nineteenth ode of Anacreon, to which the poet might allude, but more particularly to that paſſage in Pliny, where the ſame account is given of the ſpots in the moon. "Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno paſci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculoſa cernatur, ſcilicet nondum ſuppetente ad hauriendum ultra juſta vi: maculas enim non aliud eſſe quam terræ raptas cum humore ſordes." Lib. 2. cap. 9. NEWTON.

The reader may alſo refer to a paſſage in *Macbeth*:

"Upon the corner of the *moon*
"There hangs a *vaporous* drop profound."

The groſſer feeds the purer, earth the ſea,
Earth and the ſea feed air, the air thoſe fires
Ethereal, and as loweſt firſt the moon;
Whence in her viſage round thoſe ſpots, unpurg'd
Vapours not yet into her ſubſtance turn'd.
Nor doth the moon no nouriſhment exhale
From her moiſt continent to higher orbs.
The ſun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompence
In humid exhalations, and at even
Sups with the Ocean. Though in Heaven the trees
Of life ambroſial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
We bruſh mellifluous dews, and find the ground

Ver. 421. *Nor doth the moon no nouriſhment exhale*] A Latiniſm. So Virg. *Georg.* i. 83.

"Nec nulla interea eſt inaratæ gratia terræ."

NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *From her* moiſt *continent*] The moon is called in *Hamlet*, A. i. S. i. "the *moiſt* ſtar." And in Randolph's *Poems*, 1640. p. 49.

—— "The *Moone* though *moiſt* and cold ſhe be."

Ver. 425. —————— *and at even*
Sups *with the Ocean.*] So, in Lovelace's *Poſthumus Poems*, 1659. p. 15. "The Sun *ſups* in the Deep."

Ver. 426. —————— *Though in Heaven the trees* &c.] In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven, he is juſtified by Scripture. See *Matt.* xxvi. 29. and *Rev.* xxii. 2. NEWTON.

Cover'd with pearly grain: Yet God hath here
Varied his bounty ſo with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven; and to taſte
Think not I ſhall be nice. So down they ſat,
And to their viands fell; nor ſeemingly
The Angel, nor in miſt, the common gloſs
Of Theologians; but with keen deſpatch

Ver. 430. *Cover'd with pearly* grain:] The ſame beautiful metaphor, as before:

"Now Morn, her roſy ſteps in the eaſtern clime
"Advancing, *ſow'd* the earth with orient pearl."

Ver. 435. ——— *the common gloſs*
Of Theologians;] The uſual comment and expoſition of divines. For, ſeveral of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only ſeemed to do ſo; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael ſays in the book of Tobit, xii. 19. "*All theſe days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did ſee a viſion.*" But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen deſpatch of real hunger* as he ſays; and this opinion is confirmed by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See *Gen.* xviii. and xix. There it is ſaid plainly that meat was ſet before them, *and they did eat*; and there is no reaſon for not underſtanding this, as well as the reſt of the relation, literally.

Of Theologians; this ſame word he uſes in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. vol. i. ed. 1738. NEWTON.

In Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, 1635, p. 200, it is ſaid of the Angels;

"In viſible form they likewiſe have appear'd,
"Been ſeen to walke, *to eat, to drinke*, &c."

Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To tranſubſtantiate: What redounds, tranſpires
Through Spirits with eaſe; nor wonder; if by fire
Of ſooty coal the empirick alchemiſt
Can turn, or holds it poſſible to turn,
Metals of droſſieſt ore to perfect gold,
As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
Miniſter'd naked, and their flowing cups
With pleaſant liquours crown'd: O innocence
Deſerving Paradiſe! if ever, then,
Then had the ſons of God excuſe to have been
Enamour'd at that ſight; but in thoſe hearts

But, in the ſame page, the aſſertion is qualified, according to *the common gloſs of Theologians:* of the Angels with Abraham,

——— " they *drank* with him, and *eat*,
" At leaſt, *unto his ſeeming*, taſted meat."

See alſo note on *Comus*, v. 16.

Ver. 445. *With pleaſant liquours crown'd:*] *To crown their cups*, was a phraſe among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not ſo as to run over. Thus it is uſed by Homer, *Iliad* i. 470.

Κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.

and by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 528.

——— " et ſocii cratera coronant." NEWTON.

Ver. 446. ——— *if ever*, then,
Then *had the Sons of God excuſe* &c.] The doubling of *then* adds great force and emphaſis. The alluſion is to *Gen.* vi. 2. See note on B. iii. 463. NEWTON.

Some of the Rabbins ſay, Eve was ſo beautiful, that the prince of Angels fell in love with her, which occaſioned his fall.
UPTON.

Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealouſy
Was underſtood, the injur'd lover's hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had ſuffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, ſudden mind aroſe
In Adam, not to let the occaſion paſs
Given him by this great conference to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in Heaven, whoſe excellence he ſaw
Tranſcend his own ſo far; whoſe radiant forms,
Divine effulgence, whoſe high power, ſo far
Exceeded human; and his wary ſpeech
Thus to the empyreal miniſter he fram'd.
Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favour, in this honour done to Man;

Ver. 451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had ſuffic'd, Not burden'd nature,*] Homer, *Iliad* i. 469.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον �entο.

And Virgil, *Æn.* i. 216.

"Poſtquam exempta fames epulis, menſæque remotæ."

Milton ſays the ſame thing, but at the ſame time inſinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to ſatisfy, but not to burden, nature; and this ſort of temperance he not only recommends, as in the beginning of this book, and in B. xi. 530, &c. but remarkably practiſed himſelf. NEWTON.

Ver. 455. *Of things above* his *world,*] Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley, have corrupted the text, by reading "above *this* world."

Ver. 456. ——— *whoſe* excellence] *Excellence* is a general word; and Milton branches the *excellence* of Angels into two particulars; their *radiant forms* (which were the effulgence of the Deity), and their *high power.* PEARCE.

Under whoſe lowly roof thou haſt vouchſaf'd
To enter, and theſe earthly fruits to taſte,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted ſo,
As that more willingly thou couldſt not ſeem
At Heaven's high feaſts to have fed: yet what compare?

To whom the winged Hierarch replied.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one firſt matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of ſubſtance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more ſpiritous, and pure,

Ver. 467. ——— *yet what compare?*] *His ſpeech was weary*; and he was afraid to aſk the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his deſire to know by queſtioning whether there was any compariſon between them. NEWTON.

I would have it obſerved in what a beautiful manner Milton brings on the execution of thoſe orders, which Raphael had received from God. To avoid all appearance of harſhneſs or abruptneſs, which might have ſeemed, if the Angel had immediately entered upon his errand, the poet makes uſe of Adam's curioſity to introduce the ſubject, and puts ſuch wary and modeſt queſtions into his mouth, as naturally led to thoſe high matters, upon which the other was commiſſioned to diſcourſe to him.

GREENWOOD.

Ver. 471. ——— *created all* &c.] See *Wiſdom* i. 14.

Ver. 475. *But more refin'd, more ſpiritous, and pure,*
As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending &c.] So Spenſer, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, ſpeaking of the earth, the air, and above that the pure cryſtalline,

As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending
Each in their ſeveral active ſpheres aſſign'd,
Till body up to ſpirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green ſtalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, laſt the bright conſummate flower
Spirits odórous breathes: flowers and their fruit,

" By view whereof it plainly may appear,
" That ſtill as every thing doth upward tend,
" And farther is from earth, ſo ſtill more clear
" And fair it grows &c." THYER.

Ver. 478. *Till body up to ſpirit work*, &c.] Our author ſhould have conſidered things better; for, by attributing his own falſe notions in philoſophy to an Arch-Angel, he has really leſſened the character, which he intended to raiſe. He is as much miſtaken here in his metaphyſicks, as he was before in his phyſicks. This notion of matter refining into ſpirit is by no means obſerving the *bounds proportion'd to each kind*. I ſuppoſe, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a ſpiritual body, as in 1. *Cor.* xv. and perhaps borrowed it from ſome of his ſyſtems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialiſt in his philoſophy, ſo he was too much of a ſyſtematiſt in his divinity. NEWTON.

Ver. 482. *Spirits odórous*] We muſt take notice in reading this verſe, that *Spirits* is here a word of *two* ſyllables, though it is often contracted into *one*, or pronounced as two ſhort ones, and particularly in the ſecond line after this

" To vital *ſpirits* aſpire;"

and the ſecond ſyllable in *odórous* is to be pronounced long, though the poet makes it ſhort in other places, as in B. iv. 166. But theſe are not the only inſtances, where Milton makes uſe of this ſame poetical licence. NEWTON.

Man's nouriſhment, by gradual ſcale ſublim'd,
To vital ſpirits aſpire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and ſenſe,
Fancy and underſtanding; whence the ſoul
Reaſon receives, and reaſon is her being,
Diſcurſive, or intuitive; diſcourſe
Is oftest yours, the latter moſt is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the ſame.
Wonder not then, what God for you ſaw good
If I refuſe not, but convert, as you,
To proper ſubſtance. Time may come, when Men
With Angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
And from theſe corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at laſt turn all to ſpirit,
Improv'd by tract of time, and, wing'd, aſcend
Ethereal, as we; or may, at choice,

* *Odorous* is pronounced with the ſame accent in *the Slaughter of the Innocents*, tranſlated by T. R. 1675, p. 60.

"The hills, and dales, that plants *odorous* bare."

Ver. 498. ——————— *and, wing'd, aſcend*
Ethereal, as we,] It is the doctrine of the ableſt Divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholick church, that, if Adam had not ſinned, he would never have died, but would have been tranſlated from Earth to Heaven; and this doctrine the reader may ſee illuſtrated in the learned Biſhop Bull's diſcourſe *Of the ſtate of man before the fall.* Our author no doubt was very well acquainted with the ſenſe of antiquity in this particular; and, admitting the notion, what he ſays is poetical at leaſt, if you will not allow it to be probable and rational.

NEWTON.

Here or in heavenly Paradiſes dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whoſe progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happineſs this happy ſtate
Can comprehend, incapable of more.

To whom the patriarch of mankind replied.
O favourable Spirit, propitious gueſt,
Well haſt thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the ſcale of nature ſet
From center to circumference; whereon,
In contemplation of created things,
By ſteps we may aſcend to God. But ſay,

Ver. 503. *Whoſe progeny you are.*] From St. Paul, *Acts* xvii. 28. "*For we are alſo his offspring;*" who took it from Aratus, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. NEWTON.

Ver. 504. *Your fill what happineſs*] Your fill *of* what happineſs, or *to* your fill what happineſs. NEWTON.

Ver. 509. ——— *and the ſcale of nature ſet*
From center to circumference,] The ſcale or ladder of nature aſcends by ſteps from a point, a center, to the whole circumference of what mankind can ſee or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vaſtly expreſſive. *Matter, one firſt matter,* is this center; nature infinitely diverſified is the ſcale which reaches to the utmoſt of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whoſe circumference *who can tell?* "*Uncircumſcrib'd he fills infinitude,*" B. vii. 170. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 512. *By ſteps we may aſcend to God.*] There is a real viſible ladder (beſides that viſionary one of Jacob) whoſe foot, though placed on the earth among the loweſt of the creation, yet leads us *by ſteps, in contemplation of created things,* up to God, the inviſible Creator of all things. HUME.

What meant that caution join'd, *If ye be found*
Obedient? Can we want obedience then
To him, or poſſibly his love deſert,
Who form'd us from the duſt, and plac'd us here
Full to the utmoſt meaſure of what bliſs
Human deſires can ſeek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heaven and Earth,
Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;
That thou continueſt ſuch, owe to thyſelf,
That is, to thy obedience; therein ſtand.
This was that caution given thee; be advis'd.
God made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to perſevere
He left it in thy power; ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
Inextricable, or ſtrict neceſſity:

Milton here very clearly alludes to the Platonick philoſophy of riſing gradually from the conſideration of particular created beauty to that which is univerſal and uncreated. THYER.

Ver. 520. *Attend:* &c.] The ſentences here are very ſhort, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. "*Quicquid præcipies, eſto brevis,*" is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, ſo likewiſe to his practice, as particularly in that ſtring of precepts, *Epiſt.* I. ii. 55. "Sperne voluptates, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 526. ——————— *ordain'd thy* will
By nature free, *not over-rul'd by fate*
Inextricable, or ſtrict neceſſity:] Sir John Davies, *Noſce teipſum*, p. 36. ed. 1608.

"If by his word he had the current ſtayd
"Of Adam's *will*, which was *by nature free*,
"It had bene one, as if his word had ſayd,
"I will henceforth, that *Man no man ſhall be.*"

Our voluntary ſervice he requires,
Not our neceſſitated; ſuch with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
Can hearts, not free, be tried whether they ſerve
Willing or no, who will but what they muſt
By deſtiny, and can no other chooſe?
Myſelf, and all the angelick hoſt, that ſtand
In ſight of God, enthron'd, our happy ſtate
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
On other ſurety none: Freely we ſerve,
Becauſe we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we ſtand or fall:
And ſome are fall'n, to diſobedience fall'n,
And ſo from Heaven to deepeſt Hell; O fall
From what high ſtate of bliſs, into what woe!
To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
Divine inſtructer, I have heard, than when
Cherubick ſongs by night from neighbouring hills
Aëreal muſick ſend: Nor knew I not

Ver. 546. ——————— *than when*
Cherubick ſongs &c.] Adam had mentioned theſe nightly ſongs of the Angels with pleaſure in B. iv. 680, &c. But ſtill he prefers the converſation of the Angel, and thinks diſcourſe more ſweet,

"For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe."
NEWTON.

Ver. 548. ——————— *nor knew I not*
To be both will and deed created free;] Nor was it unknown to me that my will and actions are free. I knew I was free. Two negatives make an affirmative. RICHARDSON.

To be both will and deed created free;
Yet that we never ſhall forget to love
Our Maker, and obey him whoſe command
Single is yet ſo juſt, my conſtant thoughts
Aſſur'd me, and ſtill aſſure: Though what thou tell'ſt
Hath paſs'd in Heaven, ſome doubt within me move,
But more deſire to hear, if thou conſent,
The full relation, which muſt needs be ſtrange,
Worthy of ſacred ſilence to be heard;
And we have yet large day, for ſcarce the ſun
Hath finiſh'd half his journey, and ſcarce begins
His other half in the great zone of Heaven.

Thus Adam made requeſt; and Raphaël,
After ſhort pauſe aſſenting, thus began.

High matter thou enjoin'ſt me, O prime of men,

Ver. 551. ——— *whoſe command*

Single is yet ſo juſt,] That is, the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only command given to man. It is ſpoken of much in the ſame manner, B. iv. 419, and again v. 432. And this command, though *ſingle*, and therefore on that account to be obeyed, is yet ſo juſt, that it lays a farther obligation upon our obedience. NEWTON.

Ver. 557. *Worthy of ſacred ſilence to be heard*;] Worthy of religious ſilence, ſuch as was required at the ſacrifices, and other religious ceremonies, of the ancients; alluding to that of Horace, *Od.* ii. xiii. 29, 30.

" Utrumque *ſacro digna ſilentio*
" Mirantur umbræ dicere." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 563. *High matter thou enjoin'ſt me, O prime of men, Sad taſk and hard:* &c.] It is cuſtomary with the

Sad taſk and hard: For how ſhall I relate
To human ſenſe the inviſible exploits
Of warring Spirits? how, without remorſe,
The ruin of ſo many glorious once
And perfect while they ſtood? how laſt unfold
The ſecrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good
This is diſpens'd; and what ſurmounts the reach
Of human ſenſe, I ſhall delineate ſo,
By likening ſpiritual to corporal forms,
As may expreſs them beſt; though what if Earth

epick poets to introduce, by way of epiſode and narration, the principal events, which happened before the action of the poem commences: And as Homer's Ulyſſes relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; ſo the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the ſame manner as Æneas does his account of the deſtruction of Troy, Virg. *Æn.* ii. 3.

"Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem." NEWTON.

Ver. 574. ——————— *though what if Earth* &c.] In order to make Adam comprehend theſe things, the Angel tells him that he muſt *liken ſpiritual to corporal forms*, and queſtions whether there is not a greater ſimilitude and reſemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagined, which is ſuggeſted very artfully, as it is indeed the beſt apology that could be made for thoſe bold figures, which Milton has employed; and eſpecially in his deſcription of the battles of the Angels. To the ſame purpoſe ſays Mr. Mede, *Diſcourſe* x. "If the viſible things of God may be learned, as St. Paul ſays, from the creation of the world, why may not the inviſible and intelligible world be learned from the fabrick of the viſible? the one (it may be) being the pattern of the other." NEWTON.

Be but the ſhadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?
As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reign'd where theſe Heavens now roll, where Earth now reſts
Upon her center pois'd; when on a day
(For time, though in eternity, applied
To motion, meaſures all things durable
By preſent, paſt, and future,) on ſuch day
As Heaven's great year brings forth, the empyreal hoſt

Ver. 579. *Upon her center pois'd;*] "*Ponderibus libratatua,*" as Ovid ſays, *Met.* i. 13. Or as Milton elſewhere expreſſes it, B. vii. 242.

"And Earth ſelf-balanc'd on her center hung."

NEWTON.

Ver. 583. *As Heaven's great year*] Our poet ſeems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

"Magnus ab integro ſeclorum naſcitur ordo."

Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 5.

"—Et incipient magni procedere menſes."

Ecl. iv. 12. HUME.

Plato's great year of the Heavens, is the revolution of all the ſpheres. Every thing returns to where it ſet out when their motion firſt began. See Auſon. *Idyl.* xviii. 15. A proper time for the declaration of the vicegerency of the Son of God. Milton has the ſame thought for the birth of the Angels (ver. 861.) imagining ſuch kind of revolutions long before the Angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity did the vaſt mind of this poet carry him. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *the empyreal hoſt*] We read of ſuch a divine aſſembly in *Job* i. 6. "Now there was a day when the ſons of

Of Angels by imperial ſummons call'd,
Innumerable before the Almighty's throne
Forthwith, from all the ends of Heaven, appear'd
Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
Ten thouſand thouſand enſigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for diſtinction ſerve
Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
Or in their glittering tiſſues bear imblaz'd
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
Of circuit inexpreſſible they ſtood,
Orb within orb, the Father Infinite,
By whom in bliſs imboſom'd ſat the Son,
Amidſt as from a flaming mount, whoſe top

God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord." And again, 1 *Kings* xxii. 19. This was enough to furniſh the hint to Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 589. *Standards and* gonfalons] *Enſigns* or *banners*. Milton introduced the word *gonfalon* into our language from the Italian; it being the name of the Pope's ſtandard. In Chaucer, a *flag* or *ſtreamer* is called gonfanoun, *Rom. Roſe*, 1201, 2018.

Ver. 598. *Amidſt as from a flaming mount*, &c.] This idea ſeems to be taken from the divine preſence in the mount, *Exod.* xix, when God gave his commandments to the children of Iſrael, as here he is giving his great command concerning the Meſſiah in Heaven. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *whoſe top*
Brightneſs had made inviſible,] The ſame juſt and yet bold thought with that in B. iii. 380.

"Dark with exceſſive bright thy ſkirts appear."

See the note on that verſe. THYER.

Brightneſs had made inviſible, thus ſpake.
Hear, all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevok'd ſhall ſtand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
And by myſelf have ſworn, to him ſhall bow
All knees in Heaven, and ſhall confeſs him Lord:
Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
United, as one individual ſoul,
For ever happy: Him who diſobeys,
Me diſobeys, breaks union, and that day,
Caſt out from God and bleſſed viſion, falls
Into utter darkneſs, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end.
So ſpake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All ſeem'd well pleas'd; all ſeem'd, but were not all.

Ver. 602. *Hear my decree*, &c.] We obſerved before, that Milton was very cautious what ſentiments and language he aſcribed to the Almighty, and generally confined himſelf to the phraſes and expreſſions of Scripture; and in this particular ſpeech the reader will eaſily remark how much of it is copied from Holy Writ, by comparing it with the following texts: *Pſalm* ii. 6, 7. *Gen.* xxii. 16. *Phil.* ii. 10, 11. NEWTON.

The opening of the ſpeech has a more particular reference, I conceive, to *Heb.* i. 5. "When he bringeth in the *Firſt-begotten into the world*, he ſaith, And let *all the Angels of God worſhip him*."

That day, as other ſolemn days, they ſpent
In ſong and dance about the ſacred hill;
Myſtical dance, which yonder ſtarry ſphere
Of planets, and of fix'd, in all her wheels
Reſembles neareſt, mazes intricate,
Eccentrick, intervolv'd, yet regular

Ver. 620. *Myſtical dance*, &c.] Strange myſterious motions, which the ſhining ſphere of the planets and fixed ſtars, in their various revolutions, imitates neareſt; windings and turnings entangled and obſcure, involving and ſurrounding one another, although not moving on the ſame center, yet then moſt regular and orderly, when to our weak and diſtant underſtanding they ſeem moſt irregular and diſturbed. Fairfax's *Taſſo*, c. ix. ſt. 6.

" And thoſe *untruly* errant call'd, I trow,
" Since He errs not, who doth them guide and move."

And Cicero, *Tuſc. Diſp.* i. 25. " Aſtra tum ea quæ ſunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re, ſed *vocabulo*, errantia, &c."

And in their motions ſuch divine perfection appears, and their harmonious perfection ſo tunes her charming notes, that God himſelf, pleaſed and delighted, pronounced them good, *Gen.* i. 18.

There is a text in *Job* xxxviii. 37, which ſeems to favour the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the muſical motion of the ſpheres; though our tranſlation differs therein from other verſions. " Concentum cœli quis dormire faciet?" *Who ſhall lay aſleep, or ſtill, the concert of the Heaven?* But this is to be underſtood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions obſerved by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. HUME.

Compare Philo Judæus, vol. i. 625, ed. Mangey. Ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ἀεὶ μελῳδεῖ, κατα τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῳ τὴν παμμιγεσι ἁρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν.

Ver. 623. ——— *yet regular*
Then moſt, when moſt irregular they ſeem;] Hence the admired conſtruction of a beautiful paſſage in Thomſon's *Autumn*:

——— " Lovelineſs
" Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
" But is, *when unadorn'd, adorn'd the moſt.*"

Then moſt, when moſt irregular they ſeem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So ſmooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Liſtens delighted. Evening now approach'd,
(For we have alſo our evening and our morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need;)
Forthwith from dance to ſweet repaſt they turn
Deſirous; all in circles as they ſtood,
Tables are ſet, and on a ſudden pil'd
With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and maſſy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven.
On flowers repos'd, and with freſh flowerets crown'd,
They eat, they drink, and in communion ſweet

Ver. 633. ——— *rubud nectar*] Nectar of the colour of rubies; Homer's οἶνος ἐρυθρὸς, *Iliad* xix. 38. NEWTON.

See note on *Samſon Agoniſtes*, v. 543.

Ver. 637. *They eat, they drink*, &c.] In the firſt edition it was thus,

"They eat, they drink, and with refection ſweet
"Are fill'd, before the all-bounteous King, &c."

In the ſecond edition the author altered it and added as follows,

"They eat, they drink, and in communion ſweet
"Quaff immortality and joy, ſecure
"Of ſurfeit where full meaſure only bounds
"Exceſs, before the all-bounteous King, &c."

Dr. Bentley is for reſtoring the former reading, but we think that *in communion ſweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection ſweet*. To *quaff immortality and joy*, to drink largely

Quaff immortality and joy, ſecure
Of ſurfeit, where full meaſure only bounds
Exceſs, before the all-bounteous King, who ſhower'd
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.
Now when ambroſial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and ſhade
Spring both, the face of brighteſt Heaven had chang'd

and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expreſſion, and plainly alluding to *Pſal* xxxvi. 8, 9. "Thou ſhalt make them drink of the river of thy pleaſures, for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light ſhall we ſee light." If theſe verſes were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly obſerves) the words in ver. 641 which repreſent God as *rejoicing in their joy*, would refer to ſomething that is no where to be found; and therefore Milton (he ſuppoſes) inſerted theſe verſes in the ſecond edition, that the *joy* of the Angels might be expreſſed.

NEWTON.

Ver. 638. ——————— *ſecure*

Of ſurfeit,] In P. Fletcher's deſcription of heaven, there is the ſame thought, *Purp. Iſl.* c. vi. ſt. 35.

"*Sweets without ſurfet,* fulneſſe without ſparing."

Ver. 641. ——————— *rejoicing in their joy.*] What an idea of the Divine Goodneſs, whoſe perfect happineſs ſeems to receive an addition from that of his creatures? RICHARDSON.

Ver. 642. ——————— *ambroſial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambroſial*, Ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα, *Iliad.* ii. 57; and ſleep for the ſame reaſon *ambroſial*, ver. 19, becauſe it refreſhes and ſtrengthens as much as food, as much as ambroſia. NEWTON.

Ver. 643. *From that high mount of God,* &c.] See the thought in theſe lines further opened and enlarged, B. vi. 4.

GREENWOOD.

To grateful twilight, (for night comes not there
In darker veil,) and roſeat dews diſpos'd
All but the unſleeping eyes of God to reſt;
Wide over all the plain, and wider far
Than all this globous earth in plain outſpread,
(Such are the courts of God) the angelick throng,
Diſpers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
By living ſtreams among the trees of life,
Pavilions numberleſs, and ſudden rear'd,
Celeſtial tabernacles, where they ſlept
Fann'd with cool winds; ſave thoſe, who, in their courſe,
Melodious hymns about the ſovran throne
Alternate all night long: but not ſo wak'd
Satan; ſo call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heaven; he of the firſt,
If not the firſt Arch-Angel, great in power,

Ver. 647. *All but the unſleeping eyes of God to reſt.*] So the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* cxxi. 4. "He that keepeth Iſrael ſhall neither ſlumber nor ſleep." The author had likewiſe Homer in mind, *Iliad.* ii. 1.

Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοί———
Εὗδον παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. NEWTON.

Ver. 657. Alternate *all night long:*] Milton had here in mind the choral ſervice in cathedrals, when they ſing by *alterns*. *Alternate* is the Italian verb, *alternare*; ſee Della Cruſca. See alſo Card. Bona de Liturgia, p. 333. "*Cantum* verò *alternum* ſcribit Socrates, lib. 6. cap. 8. à S. Ignatio Epiſcopo Antiocheno in Eccleſiam introductum fuiſſe, oſtensâ ei *cœlitus angelorum* viſione, qui hymnos *alter ad alterum* Sanctiſſimæ Trinitati concinebant."

In favour and pre-eminence, yet fraught
With envy againſt the Son of God, that day
Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd
Meſſiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that ſight, and thought himſelf impair'd.
Deep malice thence conceiving and diſdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the duſky hour
Friendlieſt to ſleep and ſilence, he reſolv'd
With all his legions to diſlodge, and leave
Unworſhipt, unobey'd, the throne ſupreme,
Contemptuous; and his next ſubordinate
Awakening, thus to him in ſecret ſpake.
Sleep'ſt thou, Companion dear? What ſleep can cloſe
Thy eye-lids? and remember'ſt what decree

Ver. 671. ——— *his next ſubordinate*] Beelzebub, who is always repreſented ſecond to Satan. Satan addreſſes him firſt here, as he does likewiſe upon the burning lake, B. i. 84.
NEWTON.

Ver. 673. *Sleep'ſt thou, Companion dear? What ſleep can cloſe Thy eye-lids? and remember'ſt what decree* &c.] *Iliad* ii. 23. Εὕδεις, Ἀτρεΐδη υἱέ; And Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 560.

——— " potes hoc ſub caſu ducere ſomnos?"

" *And* remember'ſt," that is, " *when thou* remember'ſt &c." It is juſt the ſame manner of ſpeaking as in B. ii. 730.

——— " what fury, O Son,
" Poſſeſſes thee to bend that mortal dart
" Againſt thy Father's head? *and know'ſt for whom*,"

that is, " *at the ſame time that thou know'ſt for whom.*"
NEWTON.

Of yeſterday, ſo late hath paſs'd the lips
Of Heaven's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
Waſt wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy ſleep diſſent? New laws thou ſeeſt impos'd;
New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raiſe
In us who ſerve, new counſels, to debate
What doubtful may enſue: More in this place
To utter is not ſafe. Aſſemble thou
Of all thoſe myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them, that by command, ere yet dim night
Her ſhadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haſte,
And all who under me their banners wave,
Homeward, with flying march, where we poſſeſs
The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Ver. 684. *Of all thoſe myriads which we lead the* chief;] Dr. Bentley reads *chiefs*; but Milton ſpeaks after the ſame manner, as here, in B. ii. 469. "Others among the *chief*." And in both places *the chief* ſignifies the ſame as *the chiefs*, only this is a ſubſtantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word *angels* in the conſtruction." PEARCE.

Ver. 685. *Tell them, that by command,* &c.] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preſerve the character given of him in Scripture, *John* viii. 44. "The Devil is a liar, and the father of lies." NEWTON.

Ver. 689. *The quarters of the north*;] See Sannazarius *De Partu Virginis*, iii. 40.

"Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum ſervilibus armis,
"Arctoúmque furor pertenderet impius axem
"Scandere, et in gelidos regnum transferre Triones,
"Fida manus, mécum manſiſtis."

Fit entertainment to receive our King,
The great Meſſiah, and his new commands,

There are other paſſages in the ſame poem, of which Milton has made uſe. JORTIN.

Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare ſay he was above intending here, a reflection upon Scotland; though, being himſelf an Independant, he had no great affection for the Scotch Preſbyterians.

He had the authority, we ſee, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's Rebellion in *the quarters of the north*; and he had much better authority, the ſame that Sannazarius had, that of the Prophet, whoſe words, though applied to the king of Babylon, yet alluded to this rebellion of Satan, *Iſaiah* xiv. 12. "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morning!—For thou haſt ſaid in thine heart, I will aſcend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the ſtars of God, I will ſit alſo upon the mount of the congregation *in the ſides of the north.*"

St. Auſtin ſays, that the Devil and his Angels, being averſe from the light and fervour of charity, grew torpid as it were with an icy hardneſs; and are therefore, by a figure, placed *in the north.* See his *Epiſt.* cxl. ſect. 55. And Shakſpeare calls Satan "the monarch *of the north,*" 1. *Hen.* vi. A. v. S. iii. I have ſeen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and entitled "Dæmonomachiæ, ſive De Bello Intelligentiarum ſuper Divini Verbi Incarnatione." This poem is longer than the Iliad, for it conſiſts of five and twenty books; but it equals the Iliad in nothing but in length; for the poetry is very indifferent. However, in ſome particulars, the plan of this poem is very like *Paradiſe Loſt.* It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God; and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into *the quarters of the north*;

——————"pars tertia lævam
"Hoc duce perſequitur, gelidóque aquilone locatur."

It is more probable, that Milton had ſeen this poem than ſome others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He

Who ſpeedily through all the hierarchies
Intends to paſs triumphant, and give laws.
So ſpake the falſe Arch-Angel, and infus'd
Bad influence into the unwary breaſt
Of his aſſociate: He together calls,
Or ſeveral one by one, the regent Powers,
Under him Regent; tells, as he was taught,
That the Moſt High commanding, now ere night,
Now ere dim night had diſincumber'd Heaven,
The great hierarchal ſtandard was to move;

was indeed an univerſal ſcholar, and read all ſorts of authors; and took hints from the moderns as well as the ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius formed by reading; and, was ſaid of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of ther authors. NEWTON.

The commentators have not obſerved, that there is ſtill another poem which Milton ſeems to have copied, "L' Angeleida di Eraſmo di Valvaſone," printed at Venice in 1590, deſcribing the battle of the Angels againſt Lucifer. I beg leave to add, that Milton ſeems alſo to have attended to a poem of Taſſo, not much noticed, on the Creation, "Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato," in 1607. DR. J. WARTON.

This poem of Taſſo is in blank verſe. The *meaſure* therefore, as well as the *ſubject*, would particularly intereſt Milton. There is another poem, ſtill leſs noticed, into which alſo Milton might have looked, "Della Creatione del Mondo, Poema Sacro, del Sig. Gaſparo Murtola, *Giorni ſette, Canti ſedici*," printed at Venice in 1608; the printer of which informs the reader, that this work had been expected by the learned with much impatience. The poems of *Du Bartas* and *Taſſo* on the ſame ſubject are noticed in the ſame preliminary addreſs. The war of the Angels is briefly related in the firſt canto.

Tells the ſuggeſted cauſe, and caſts between
Ambiguous words and jealouſies, to ſound
Or taint integrity: But all obey'd
The wonted ſignal, and ſuperiour voice
Of their great Potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
His countenance, as the morning-ſtar that guides
The ſtarry flock, allur'd them, and with lies

Ver. 702. *Tells the ſuggeſted cauſe,*] The cauſe that Satan had ſuggeſted, namely, to prepare entertainment for their new king, and receive his laws: *And caſts between ambiguous words,* imitated from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 98.

——————— " hinc ſpargere *voces*
" In vulgum *ambiguas.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 708. *His countenance, as the morning-ſtar* &c.] This ſimilitude is not ſo new as poetical. Virgil, in like manner, compares the beautiful young Pallas to the morning-ſtar, *Æn.* viii. 589, &c.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning-ſtar, as he is often ſpoken of under the name of *Lucifer,* as well as denominated *Lucifer, ſon of the morning.* NEWTON.

Ver. 709. ——————— *and* with *lies* &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays that the author gave it " and *his* lies &c." but by the expreſſion *his countenance* is meant he himſelf, a part being put for the whole, as in B. ii. 683, we have *front* put for the whole perſon: It is very frequent in Scripture to uſe the word *face* or *countenance* in this ſenſe: as in *Luke* ix. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the " *Samaritans did not receive him becauſe his face was as though he* (Greek, it) *would go to Jeruſalem.*" See alſo *Levit.* xix. 32. But if this will not be allowed to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be ſaid that Satan's *countenance,* ſeducing his followers by diſguiſing the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly ſaid to *ſeduce with lies.* We read in Cicero's Epiſtles to his brother, " *frons, oculi,* vultus *perſæpe mentiuntur.*" Lib. 1. Ep. 1. c. 5. PEARCE.

Drew after him the third part of Heaven's hoſt. 710
Mean while the Eternal eye, whoſe ſight diſcerns

Ver. 710. *Drew after him the third part of Heaven's hoſt.*] See *Rev.* xii. 3, 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 711. *Mean while the Eternal eye*, &c.] Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expreſſing only ſome part or quality of a perſon, when he means the perſon himſelf, and goes on to ſay things which (properly ſpeaking) are applicable only to the perſon himſelf. And Milton had good authority for doing ſo: in *Pſal.* liv. 7. the *eye* is made a perſon, "*mine eye ſhall ſee his deſire upon mine enemies:*" ſo, in *Mat.* xx. 15, the *eye* is put for the whole man, "*Is thine eye evil, becauſe I am good?*" See alſo *Prov.* xxx. 17. PEARCE.

His countenance allur'd, and with lies drew after him &c. *The Eternal eye ſaw* &c. *and ſmiling ſaid*—give great offence to Dr. Bentley; and Dr. Pearce ſays, *his countenance and the Eternal eye* are the part for the whole or the perſon. But a very learned and ingenious friend queſtions, whether they are not here uſed equivocally, and to be conſtrued either as one or the other, according as the ſenſe requires. It is Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning-ſtar, but it is Satan himſelf that draws them after him with lies; ſo the Eternal eye ſees, but the *ſmiling ſaid* muſt relate to the Eternal himſelf. Spenſer has a ſtronger inſtance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the criticks, and it is repeated as here in Milton: Spenſer's *Epithalamion.*

"Her long looſe yellow *locks*, like golden wire,
"Sprinkled with pearl, and perling flow'rs atween,
"Do like a golden mantle *her attire:*
"And, being crowned with a girland green,
"*Seem* like ſome maiden queen.
"*Her modeſt eyes* abaſhed to behold
"So many gazers, as on her do ſtare,
"Upon the lowly ground *affixed are*;
"Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
"But *bluſh to hear* her praiſes ſung ſo loud,
"*So far from being proud.*" NEWTON.

Abſtruſeſt thoughts, from forth his holy mount,
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, ſaw without their light
Rebellion riſing; ſaw in whom, how ſpread
Among the ſons of morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppoſe his high decree;
And, ſmiling, to his only Son thus ſaid.
Son, thou in whom my glory I behold

Ver. 713. *And from within the golden lamps*] Alluding to lamps before the throne of God, which St. John ſaw in his viſion, *Rev.* iv. 5. "*And there were ſeven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 716. *Among the ſons of morn,*] So he calls the Angels in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, ſt. xii.

"But when of old the *ſons of morning* ſung."

And thus Craſhaw, in his *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 24.

"This daily wrong
"Silenc't the *morning-ſons*, and damp't their ſong."

The expreſſion is literally from *Iſaiah*, xiv. 12. "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, *ſon of the morning?*"

Ver. 718. *And, ſmiling*, &c.] *Pſalm* ii. 1, &c. "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?—againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed—He, that ſitteth in the Heavens, ſhall *laugh*; the Lord ſhall *have them in deriſion.*" It appears that Milton had this paſſage in view, by his making the Son allude ſo plainly to it in his anſwer:

——— "Mighty Father, thou thy foes
"Juſtly haſt in deriſion, and, ſecure,
"Laugh'ſt at their vain deſigns and tumults vain."
NEWTON.

Ver. 719. ——— *in whom my glory I behold*
In full reſplendence, Heir of all my might,] "For he is the brightneſs of his Father's glory, and appointed Heir of all things." NEWTON.

In full reſplendence, Heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be ſure
Of our Omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we claim
Of deity or empire: Such a foe
Is riſing, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the ſpacious north;
Nor ſo content, hath in his thought to try
In battle, what our power is, or our right.
Let us adviſe, and to this hazard draw
With ſpeed what force is left, and all employ
In our defence; leſt unawares we loſe
This our high place, our ſanctuary, our hill.
To whom the Son with calm aſpect and clear,
Lightning divine, ineffable, ſerene,
Made anſwer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes
Juſtly haſt in deriſion, and, ſecure,
Laugh'ſt at their vain deſigns and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illuſtrates, when they ſee all regal power
Given me to quell their pride, and in event
Know whether I be dextrous to ſubdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worſt in Heaven.
So ſpake the Son; but Satan, with his Powers,
Far was advanc'd on winged ſpeed; an hoſt

Ver. 734. *Lightning divine,*] If *Lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had ſaid *Lightning divinely:* but it is rather a ſubſtantive, and in Scripture the Angel's countenance is ſaid to have been like *lightning*, *Dan.* x. 6. *Mat.* xxviii. 3. NEWTON.

Innumerable as the ſtars of night,
Or ſtars of morning, dew-drops, which the ſun
Impearls on every leaf and ever flower.
Regions they paſs'd, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
In their triple degrees; regions to which

Ver. 746. *Or ſtars of morning*, dew-drops, *which the ſun Impearls on every leaf and every flower.*] Innumerable as the ſtars, is an old ſimile; but this of the ſtars of morning, *dew-drops*, ſeems as new as it is beautiful: And the ſun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to ſeeming pearls; as the morn was ſaid before to ſow the earth *with orient pearl*, v. 2. NEWTON.

The dew-drops are called *pearly grain*, v. 430. And in Spenſer the ſun is deſcribed, *Faer. Qu.* iv. v. 45,

" With *pearly dew* ſprinkling the morning graſſe,"

Compare alſo Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, ed. ſupr. p. 70,

" To walk the mountains, or the flowry meads
" *Impearl'd* with *tears*, which ſweet Aurora ſheads."

And *Ancient Scotiſh Poems*, edit. 1786. vol. ii. p. 260.

" The ſilver *drops of dew* hang on the bewis,
" *Like orient perle* in gold quhilk ſet hath bene."

Ver. 750. *In their triple degrees*;] This notion of *triples* in all the œconomy of Angels, is ſtarted by Taſſo, c. xviii. ſt. 96,

" *Tre* ſolte ſquadre, et ogni ſquadra inſtrutta
" *In tre ordini* gira, e ſi dilata;"

and by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xii. 39.

" Like as it had been many an Angel's voice
" Singing before the eternall Majeſty,
" In their *trinal triplicities* on high."

The fancy was borrowed from the Schoolmen. BENTLEY.

This fancy ſeems to have found many admirers and expoſitors in our old poets. Drayton, in his *Poems*, 1627, p. 486; Ben

All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth,
And all the ſea, from one entire globoſe
Stretch'd into longitude; which having paſs'd,
At length into the limits of the north
They came; and Satan to his royal ſeat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold;
The palace of great Lucifer, (ſo call
That ſtructure in the dialect of men
Interpreted,) which not long after, he
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
Meſſiah was declar'd in ſight of Heaven,
The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
For thither he aſſembled all his train,

Jonſon, in his *Elegie on the Lady Anne Pawlet*; and Drummond, in his *Flowers of Sion*; give elaborate deſcriptions of this ſcholaſtick diviſion of the angelick Orders. Milton, with ſuperiour judgment, compreſſes the chief of theſe magnifick titles into one noble line;

" Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!"

The inquiſitive reader may find the names of the Princes of the nine orders of Angels, in Legh's *Accedens of Armorie*, 1576, fol. 113. b.

Ver. 760. *The palace of great Lucifer,*] See note, on *Eleg.* iii. 49.

Ver. 766. *The Mountain of the Congregation*] Alluding to what has been quoted before from *Iſaiah* xiv. 13. " I will ſit alſo upon *the mount of the congregation*, in the ſides of the north."

NEWTON.

Pretending ſo commanded to conſult
About the great reception of their King,
Thither to come, and with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers;
If theſe magnifick titles yet remain
Not merely titular, ſince by decree
Another now hath to himſelf ingroſs'd
All power, and us eclips'd under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haſte
Of midnight-march, and hurried meeting here,
This only to conſult how we may beſt,
With what may be devis'd of honours new,
Receive him coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, proſtration vile!
Too much to one! but double how endur'd,
To one, and to his image now proclaim'd?
But what if better counſels might erect
Our minds, and teach us to caſt off this yoke?
Will ye ſubmit your necks, and chooſe to bend
The ſupple knee? Ye will not, if I truſt
To know ye right, or if ye know yourſelves

Ver. 779. Knee-tribute *yet unpaid,*] So Shakſpeare, *K. Rich.* II. A. i. S. iv.

"And had the *tribute* of his *ſupple knee.*"

And Milton again, v. 787.

"Will ye ſubmit your necks, and chooſe to bend
"The *ſupple knee?*"

Natives and ſons of Heaven poſſeſs'd before
By none; and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well conſiſt.
Who can in reaſon then, or right, aſſume
Monarchy over ſuch as live by right

Ver. 790. *Natives and ſons of Heaven poſſeſs'd before*
By none;] Dr. Bentley's falſe pointing of this paſſage has led others to miſtake the ſenſe of it, as well as himſelf. He refers the word *poſſeſs'd* to *natives and ſons*, but ſhould it not rather be referred to *Heaven*, the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's? And is not the paſſage to be underſtood thus, that *No one poſſeſs'd Heaven before them*, they were a ſort of Aborigines? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following ſpeech, ver. 859.

"We know no time when we were not as now;
"Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
"By our own quickening power, when fatal courſe
"Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
"Of this our native Heaven, ethereal ſons." NEWTON.

Ver. 792. ——————*for orders and degrees*
Jar *not with liberty, but well conſiſt.*] *Jar*, a metaphor taken from muſick, to which both the philoſophers and poets have always loved to compare government. So Shakſpeare, *Hen.* v.

"For government, though high, and low, and lower,
"Put into parts, doth keep in one concent;
"Congruing in a full and natural cloſe,
"Like muſick." NEWTON.

Compare the Ode, *At a Solemn Muſick*, v. 19.

—————"till diſproportion'd Sin
"*Jarr'd* againſt nature's chime, and with harſh din
"Broke the fair muſick &c."

His equals, if in power and ſplendour leſs,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much leſs for this to be our Lord,

Ver. 798. *Law and* edict *on us,*] So accented by Shakſpeare, *Love's Lab. Loſt,* A. i. S. i.

" Our late *edict* ſhall ſtrongly ſtand in force."

Other inſtances of the ſame accentuation occur in our elder poets.

Ver. 799. ——— *much leſs for this to be our Lord,*] This paſſage ſeems to me as inexplicable almoſt as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley thinks it hard to find what *for this* relates to; and therefore reads *forethink,* or if we have no regard to the likeneſs of the letters, *aſpire, preſume,* or other ſuch word. Then the ſeries (he ſays) will be this, *Who can introduce law and edict on us? much leſs* can he *forethink,* take it in his ſcheme or view, *to become our Lord* and maſter. Dr. Pearce ſays, that the ſentence is elliptical, and may be ſupplied thus, *much leſs* can he *for this* (viz. for our being *leſs in power and ſplendour,* ver. 796.) in right aſſume *to be our Lord.* Mr. Richardſon underſtands it to be ſpoken blaſphemouſly, and with contempt of the Meſſiah. This *another,* ver. 775. This *King anointed,* ver. 777. *This,* τουτος, hic: poſſibly (as Dr. Greenwood imagines) in alluſion to that paſſage, Luke xix. 14. Ου θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, " nolumus hunc regnare ſuper nos. *We will not have this* (man) *to reign over us.*" And then the ſenſe will run after this manner, " *Who can then in juſtice aſſume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much leſs can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I do not ſay what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us.*" But then we muſt write *This* with a great letter, and we muſt not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the ſpeech. If we ſhould, I imagine we ſhould be obliged to read *much more* inſtead of *much leſs.* Dr. Warburton ſtill underſtands it otherwiſe. Who can in reaſon aſſume monarchy over thoſe who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their actions rightly without law? much leſs for this introduction of

And look for adoration, to the abuſe
Of thoſe imperial titles, which aſſert
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to ſerve.
Thus far his bold diſcourſe without controul
Had audience; when among the Seraphim
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd
The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal ſevere
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.
O argument blaſphémous, falſe and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven
Expected, leaſt of all from thee, Ingrate,
In place thyſelf ſo high above thy peers.
Canſt thou with impious obloquy condemn
The juſt decree of God, pronounc'd and ſworn,

law and edict claim the right of dominion. For he thought the *giving* of civil laws did not introduce dominion. His head was full of the ancient legiſlators, who gave laws to equals and ſtrangers, and did not pretend to the right of diſpenſing them, which is dominion. So he ſays before,

——— " for orders and degrees
" Jar not with liberty &c."

This is good ſenſe, but ſtill the grammatical conſtruction is not eaſy. I ſuppoſe it muſt be thus, " *much leſs for this* (can he aſſume, ver. 794.) *to be our Lord.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 809. *O argument* blaſphémous,] He uſes this word again, B. vi. 360, with the accent on the ſecond ſyllable, according to the Greek. So Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* vi. xii. 34.

" And therein ſhut up his *blaſphémous* tongue."
NEWTON.

This was the uſual accent of the word by Milton's predeceſſours and contemporaries.

That to his only Son by right endued
With regal ſcepter, every ſoul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confeſs him rightful King? unjuſt, thou ſay'ſt,
Flatly unjuſt, to bind with laws the free,
And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unſucceeded power.
Shalt thou give law to God? ſhalt thou diſpute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and form'd the Powers of Heaven
Such as he pleas'd, and circumſcrib'd their being?
Yet, by experience taught, we know how good,
And of our good and of our dignity
How provident he is; how far from thought
To make us leſs, bent rather to exalt
Our happy ſtate, under one head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjuſt,
That equal over equals monarch reign:
Thyſelf, though great and glorious, doſt thou count,
Or all angelick nature join'd in one,
Equal to him begotten Son? by whom,

Ver. 822. *Shalt thou give law to God, &c.*] *Rom.* ix. 20. "Who art thou that replieſt againſt God? Shall the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, Why haſt thou made me thus?"
GILLIES.

Ver. 835. ——— *by whom, &c.*] *Col.* i. 16, 17. "For *by him were all things created* that are in heaven, and that

As by his Word, the Mighty Father made
All things, even thee; and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Eſſential Powers; nor by his reign obſcur'd,
But more illuſtrious made; ſince he the head
One of our number thus reduc'd becomes;
His laws our laws; all honour to him done
Returns our own. Ceaſe then this impious rage,
And tempt not theſe; but haſten to appeaſe
The incenſed Father, and the incenſed Son,
While pardon may be found in time beſought.
So ſpake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
None ſeconded, as out of ſeaſon judg'd,
Or ſingular and raſh: Whereat rejoic'd
The Apoſtate, and, more haughty, thus replied.
That we were form'd then ſay'ſt thou? and the work

are in earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be *Thrones*, or *Dominions*, or *Principalities*, or *Powers*; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt:" And the concluſion of this ſpeech is taken from the concluſion of *Pſalm* ii. NEWTON.

Ver. 848. *While pardon may be found in time beſought.*] *Iſaiah* lv. 6. "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found."
GILLIES.

Of ſecondary hands, by taſk transferr'd
From Father to his Son? ſtrange point and new!
Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd:
Who ſaw
When this creation was? remember'ſt thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
By our own quickening power, when fatal courſe
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heaven, ethereal ſons.
Our puiſſance is our own; our own right hand
Shall teach us higheſt deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal: Then thou ſhalt behold
Whether by ſupplication we intend

Ver. 861. ——— *when fatal courſe* &c.] We may obſerve that our author makes Satan a ſort of fataliſt. We Angels (ſays he) were "*ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd by our own quickening power, when the courſe of fate had completed its full round and period*; then we were *the birth mature*, the production in due ſeaſon, *of this our native Heaven.*" No compliment to fataliſm to put it into the mouth of the Devil. NEWTON.

Ver. 864. *Our puiſſance is our own;*] *Pſalm* xii. 4. "Our lips are our own: who is lord over us?" GILLIES.

Ibid. ——— *our own right hand*
Shall teach us higheſt deeds,] From *Pſalm* xlv. 4. "Thine own right hand ſhall teach thee terrible things." And Virgil, *Æn.* x. 773.

"Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod miſſile libro."

BENTLEY.

Addreſs, and to begirt the almighty throne
Beſeeching or beſieging. This report,
Theſe tidings carry to the anointed King;
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He ſaid; and, as the ſound of waters deep,
Hoarſe murmur echo'd to his words applauſe
Through the infinite hoſt; nor leſs for that
The flaming Seraph fearleſs, though alone
Encompaſs'd round with foes, thus anſwer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spirit accurs'd,
Forſaken of all good! I ſee thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapleſs crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion ſpread
Both of thy crime and puniſhment: Henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Meſſiah; thoſe indulgent laws
Will not be now vouchſaf'd; other decrees
Againſt thee are gone forth without recall;

Ver. 869. *Beſeeching or beſieging.*] Thoſe which are thought the faults of Milton may be juſtified by the authority of the beſt writers. This ſort of jingle is like that in Terence, *Andria*, A. i. S. iii. 13.

——— "inceptio eſt *amentium*, haud *amantium*;"

and that in Shakſpeare, *Hamlet*, A. i.

"A little more than *kin*, and leſs than *kind*." NEWTON.

Ver. 872. ——— *as the ſound of waters deep,*] "The voice of a great multitude" applauding, is, in like manner, compared to "the voice of many waters," *Rev.* xix. 6. NEWTON.

That golden ſcepter, which thou didſt reject,
Is now an iron rod to bruiſe and break
Thy diſobedience. Well thou didſt adviſe;
Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
Theſe wicked tents devoted, leſt the wrath
Impendent, raging into ſudden flame,
Diſtinguiſh not: For ſoon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,
When who can uncreate thee thou ſhalt know.
So ſpake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found
Among the faithleſs, faithful only he;
Among innumerable falſe, unmov'd,
Unſhaken, unſeduc'd, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number, nor example, with him wrought

Ver. 886. *That* golden ſcepter, *which thou didſt reject,*
Is now an iron rod] The ſame alluſion, as in B. ii. 327, where ſee the note.

Ver. 890. *Theſe wicked tents devoted, leſt the wrath* &c.] In alluſion probably to the rebellion of Korah &c. *Numb.* xvi. where Moſes exhorts the congregation, ſaying, "*Depart, I pray you, from the tents of theſe wicked men, leſt ye be conſumed in all their ſins*, ver. 26." But the conſtruction without doubt is deficient. It may be ſupplied (as Dr. Pearce ſays) by underſtanding *but I fly* before the word *leſt*. See the ſame elliptical way of ſpeaking in B. ii. 483. But it would be plainer and eaſier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it;

"Theſe wicked tents *devote, but* leſt the wrath &c."

NEWTON.

To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind,
Though ſingle. From amidſt them forth he paſs'd,
Long way through hoſtile ſcorn, which he ſuſtain'd
Superiour, nor of violence fear'd aught;
And, with retorted ſcorn, his back he turn'd
On thoſe proud towers to ſwift deſtruction doom'd.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

SIXTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were ſent forth to battle againſt Satan and his Angels. The firſt fight deſcribed: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council; invents deviliſh engines, which, in the ſecond day's fight, put Michael and his Angels to ſome diſorder; but they at length, pulling up mountains, overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan: Yet, the tumult not ſo ending, God, on the third day, ſends MESSIAH *his Son, for whom he had reſerved the glory of that victory: He, in the power of his Father, coming to the place, and cauſing all his legions to ſtand ſtill on either ſide, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midſt of his enemies, purſues them unable to reſiſt towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horrour and confuſion into the place of puniſhment prepared for them in the deep:* MESSIAH *returns with triumph to his Father.*

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI.

ALL night the dreadleſs Angel, unpurſued,
Through Heaven's wide champain held his way; till Morn,
Wak'd by the circling Hours, with roſy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of God, faſt by his throne,
Where light and darkneſs in perpetual round

Ver. 4. *Unbarr'd the gates of light.*] The Hours are feigned in like manner to guard the gates of Heaven, Homer, *Il.* v. 749. NEWTON.

See alſo *Ariadne's Complaint*, at the end of *Taſſo's Aminta Engliſht*," 4°. 1628.

" And now the roſie meſſenger of Day,
" Her purple *doores unbarring*, reſtores ſight
" To the blinde world, ſannes the ſoft miſtes away
" From ſleeping eyes; and to the dayes beheſt
" Rowſes vp euery bird, and euery beaſt."

Mr. Bowle cites the following paſſage from *Eſpinoſa*, c. ii. ſt. 25.

" El 'ſtrellado cielo *abrio la puerta*
" De muy poquita luz."

In P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, 1633, the ſixth canto begins,

" The houres had now *unlockt* the *gate* of day:"

The editor of the poem in 1783 has thus altered it,

" The hours had now *unbarr'd* the *gates* of day."

Lodge and diſlodge by turns, which makes through Heaven
Grateful viciſſitude, like day and night;
Light iſſues forth, and at the other door
Obſequious Darkneſs enters, till her hour
To veil the Heaven, though darkneſs there might well
Seem twilight here: And now went forth the Morn
Such as in higheſt Heaven array'd in gold
Empyreal; from before her vaniſh'd Night,

Ver. 7. *Lodge and diſlodge by turns,*] The thought of light and darkneſs *lodging and diſlodging by turns*, the one iſſuing forth, and the other entering, is plainly borrowed from a fine paſſage in Heſiod, *Theog.* 748.

——— ὀθι Νὺξ τι καὶ Ἡμέρα ἀμφὶς ἰοῦσαι
Ἀλλήλας προσέειπον, ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
Χαλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
Ἔρχεται, οὐδὲ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος εἴλὸς ἐέργει. NEWTON.

Ver. 14. ——— vaniſh'd *Night,*] In ſome editions it is very abſurdly printed, "*vanquiſh'd* Night." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *from before her vaniſh'd* Night
Shot through *with orient beams*;] The quaint conceit of *Night's being ſhot through*, is much below the uſual dignity of Milton's deſcriptions. The Italian poets, even the very beſt of them, are fond of ſuch boyiſh fancies, and there is no doubt but we are obliged to them for this. So Marino, ſpeaking of night, *Adon.* c. v. ſt. 120.

"*E di tenebre armata uccide il giorno.*"

Both, in my opinion, very puerile. THYER.

Mr. Seward, the learned editor of Beaumont and Fletcher, contends, that no expreſſion can be better ſuited to the nature of the thing: The rays of light do literally *ſhoot through* the darkneſs.

Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain
Cover'd with thick embattled ſquadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery ſteeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, firſt met his view:
War he perceiv'd, war in procinct; and found

The expreſſion indeed is not only juſt, but highly poetical; and obtains in various languages. Thus, in the ninety-firſt *Pſalm*, "the *arrow* that flieth by day," is the power of the ſun-beams; a phraſe copied by Lucretius, i. 148.

"Non radii ſolis, neque lucida *tela* diei."

And thus Arioſto, as Mr. Bowle alſo obſerves, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxviii. ſt. 65.

"*Saettò* il ſol dall' orizonte i raggi:"

And Antonio Bruni, *Le Tre Gratie*, p. 279.

"Da mattutini, e tremoli ſplendori
"Gia *ſacttata*, e lacera la *notte*."

See more inſtances in the note on *Sonnet* v. ver. 3. Compare alſo B. iv. 244.

"Both where the morning *ſun* firſt warmly *ſmote*
"The open field, and where the *unpierc'd* ſhade
"Imbrown'd the noontide bowers."

Ver. 18. *Reflecting blaze on blaze,*] In Homer, the ſplendour of arms and ſhields is likened to blazing flames. But it is probable, that Milton had in view a very magnificent deſcription of this kind in 1 *Maccabees*, vi. 39. "Now when the ſun ſhone upon the ſhields of gold and braſs, the mountains gliſtered therewith, and ſhined like lamps of fire."

Ver. 19. *War* in procinct;] The Roman ſoldiers were ſaid to ſtand *in procinctu*, when ready to give the onſet. HUME.

As if you ſhould ſay *ready-girded*; in alluſion to the ancients, who, juſt before the battle, uſed to gird their garments cloſe to them, which, on other occaſions, they wore very looſe. See *Feſtus*. RICHARDSON.

Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported: Gladly then he mix'd
Among thoſe friendly Powers, who him receiv'd
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of ſo many myriads fall'n, yet one
Return'd not loſt. On to the ſacred hill
They led him high applauded, and preſent
Before the ſeat ſupreme; from whence a voice,
From midſt a golden cloud, thus mild was heard.
Servant of God, well done; well haſt thou fought
The better fight, who ſingle haſt maintain'd
Againſt revolted multitudes the cauſe
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the teſtimony of truth haſt borne
Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear

Ver. 29. *Servant of God,*] So the name of *Abdiel* ſignifies in Hebrew. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *well haſt thou fought*
The better fight,] 1 *Tim.* vi. 12. "Fight the good fight." GILLIES.

Ver. 34. *Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear*
Than violence;] This ſentiment is very juſt, and not unlike what Florus ſays, in his character of Tarquin the proud: "In omnes ſuperbia, quæ crudelitate gravior eſt bonis, graſſatus," lib. i. c. vii.

So alſo Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 4.

"For evill deeds may better than bad words be bore."

THYER.

Beaumont and Fletcher expreſs the ſame ſentiment very well, *Beggar's Buſh*, A. ii, S. iii.

Than violence; for this was all thy care
To ſtand approv'd in ſight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverſe: The eaſier conqueſt now
Remains thee, aided by this hoſt of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return,
Than ſcorn'd thou didſt depart; and to ſubdue
By force, who reaſon for their law refuſe,
Right reaſon for their law, and for their King
Meſſiah, who by right of merit reigns.
Go, Michael, of celeſtial armies prince,
And thou, in military proweſs next,

" A good man bears a contumely worſe
" Than he would do an injury." NEWTON.

Ver. 36. *To ſtand approv'd in ſight of God,*] II *Tim.* ii. 15. " Study to ſhow thyſelf approved unto God." GILLIES.

Ver. 41. ——— reaſon *for their law,*] Alluding to the word Λόγος. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Go, Michael, of celeſtial armies prince,*] As this battle of the Angels is founded principally on *Rev.* xii. 7, 8, " There was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought againſt the Dragon; and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven;" Michael is rightly made by Milton the leader of the heavenly armies: And the name in Hebrew ſignifies the *power of God.*

But it may be cenſured perhaps as a piece of wrong conduct in the poem, that the commiſſion here given is not executed: They are ordered to *drive* the rebel Angels *out from God and bliſs*, but this is effected at laſt by the Meſſiah alone. Some reaſons for it are aſſigned in the ſpeech of God, v. 680, and in that of the Meſſiah, v. 801 in this book. NEWTON.

Gabriel, lead forth to battle theſe my ſons
Invincible; lead forth my armed Saints,
By thouſands and by millions, rang'd for fight,
Equal in number to that Godleſs crew
Rebellious: Them with fire and hoſtile arms
Fearleſs aſſault; and, to the brow of Heaven
Purſuing, drive them out from God and bliſs,
Into their place of puniſhment, the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery Chaos to receive their fall.
So ſpake the Sovran Voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and ſmoke to roll
In duſky wreaths, reluctant flames, the ſign
Of wrath awak'd; nor with leſs dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow:
At which command the Powers militant,
That ſtood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate join'd
Of union irreſiſtible, mov'd on

Ver. 55. *His fiery Chaos*] Chaos may mean any place of confuſion; but if we take it ſtrictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos, B. ii. 1002; and therefore that part of it, being ſtored with fire, may not improperly be called a *fiery Chaos*. NEWTON.

Ver. 56. ——— *and clouds began*
To darken all the hill, and ſmoke to roll &c.] In this deſcription the author manifeſtly alludes to that of God deſcending upon Mount Sinai, *Exod.* xix. 16, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 58. ——— reluctant *flames*,] As ſlow, and unwilling to break forth. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 682.

"Stuppa vomens *tardum* fumum—" NEWTON.

In ſilence their bright legions, to the ſound
Of inſtrumental harmony, that breath'd
Heroick ardour to adventurous deeds
Under their God-like leaders, in the cauſe
Of God and his Meſſiah. On they move
Indiſſolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
Nor ſtraitening vale, nor wood, nor ſtream, divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the paſſive air upbore

Ver. 64. *In ſilence*] In B. i. 561, "They mov'd on *in ſilence* to ſoft pipes." Where Hume obſerves, that Homer thus marches his Grecians ſilent and ſedate, *Il.* iii. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ,

Ver. 69. ——— *nor obvious hill,*
Nor ſtraitening vale, nor wood, nor ſtream, divides
Their perfect ranks;] This is evidently an imitation of Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. i. ſt. 75.

"Non gran torrente, o monte alpeſtre, o folta
"Selva, che 'l lor viaggio arreſtar poſſa."

So, in *Fuimus Troes*, 1633, where Caſſibelanus deſcribes the march of Cæſar:

——— "nothing ſtops him,
"Rivers, nor rampires, woods, nor dangerous bogs."

Ver. 71. ——— *for high above the ground* &c.] Our author attributes the ſame kind of motion to the Angels, as the ancients did to their gods; which was gliding through the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or, as Milton elſewhere elegantly expreſſes it (B. viii. 302), *ſmooth-ſliding, without ſtep.* And Homer, *Iliad.* v. 778, compares the motion of two goddeſſes to the flight of doves, as Milton here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names. NEWTON.

Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
Came ſummon'd over Eden to receive
Their names of thee; ſo over many a tract
Of Heaven they march'd, and many a province wide,
Tenfold the length of this terrene: At laſt,
Far in the horizon to the north appear'd
From ſkirt to ſkirt a fiery region, ſtretch'd
In battailous aſpect, and nearer view
Briſtled with upright beams innumerable

Ver. 73. ——— *as when the total kind* &c.] Homer has uſed the ſimile of a flight of fowls twice in his *Iliad*, to expreſs the number and the motions, the order and the clamours, of an army. See *Iliad.* ii. 459, iii. 2. As Virgil has done the ſame number of times in his *Æneid*, vii. 699, x. 264. But this ſimile exceeds any of thoſe; Firſt, as it riſes ſo naturally out of the ſubject, and was a compariſon ſo familiar to Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching through the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeneſs. Thirdly, the *total kind* of birds much more properly expreſſes a prodigious number than any particular ſpecies, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton has raiſed the image in proportion to his ſubject. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, p. 9.

NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ——— *and nearer view* &c.] To the north appeared a fiery region, and nearer to the view appeared the banded Powers of Satan. It appeared a fiery region indiſtinctly at firſt, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

NEWTON.

Ver. 82. Briſtled *with upright beams* &c.] The Latins expreſs this by the word *horrere*, taken from the *briſtling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back, Virgil *Æn.* xi. 601.

Of rigid ſpears, and helmets throng'd, and ſhields
Various, with boaſtful argument portray'd,
The banded Powers of Satan haſting on
With furious expedition; for they ween'd
That ſelf-ſame day, by fight, or by ſurpriſe,
To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To ſet the Envier of his ſtate, the proud
Aſpirer; but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain

——————" tum late ferreus haſtis
" *Horret* ager."

Milton has before, in B. ii. 513, the expreſſion of " *horrent* arms." NEWTON.

The Greeks expreſs it by φρίσσειν. Thus Homer, *Iliad* xiii. 339.

Ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθισίμβροτος ἰγχείῃσι
Μακρῇς, κ. τ. λ.

See alſo Lycophron, *Caſſand.* v. 252, edit. Potter. *Briſtling* had been alſo thus uſed by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, 1622. Song xxii.

" The *briſtling* pykes doe ſhake"—

And Pope copies Milton's preciſe expreſſion, *Iliad* xiii. 431.

" All dreadful glar'd the iron face of war,
" *Briſtled with upright ſpears*, that flaſh'd afar."

Ver. 84. *Various, with boaſtful argument portray'd,*] *Shields various* are varied with diverſe ſculptures and paintings; an elegant Latiniſm. And the thought of attributing *ſhields various, with boaſtful argument portray'd*, to the evil Angels, ſeems to be taken from the *Phœniſſæ* of Euripides, where the heroes, who beſiege Thebes, are deſcribed with the like boaſtful ſhields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no ſuch boaſtful argument on his ſhield, but a ſhield without argument, as became a modeſt man, ver. 1118.

Ὁ μάντις Ἀμφιάραος, ἐ σημεῖ' ἴσχων
Ἄσημ', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἄσημ' ὅπλα. NEWTON.

In the mid way: Though ſtrange to us it ſeem'd
At firſt, that Angel ſhould with Angel war,
And in fierce hoſting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in feſtivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as ſons of one great Sire,
Hymning the Eternal Father: But the ſhout
Of battle now began, and ruſhing ſound
Of onſet ended ſoon each milder thought.
High in the midſt, exalted as a God,
The Apoſtate in his ſun-bright chariot ſat,
Idol of majeſty divine, enclos'd

Ver. 93. *And in fierce* hoſting *meet,*] This word *hoſting* ſeems to have been firſt coined by our author. It is a very expreſſive word, and plainly formed from the ſubſtantive *hoſt:* And, if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occaſion is ſo new and extraordinary. NEWTON.

The word *hoſting* was not coined by Milton. It was a common term in Ireland to denote the *muſtering of armed men.* See the Lord Deputy's Letter to Secretary Coke, dated Dublin, Jan. 31, 1633. "I ſet you down theſe [liſts of armed men] only for a taſte, not as yet being able to recover the numbers, which are to be found by the Planters in the other Provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, nor yet of the Iriſh *hoſtings.*" Lord Strafforde's Letters, vol. i. 199. ed. 1739.

Dr. Johnſon cites the ſame word from Spenſer *on Ireland.* "Lords have had the leading of their own followers to the general *hoſtings.*"

Ver. 101. *Idol of majeſty divine,*] This is the very ſame with what Abdiel afterwards at ver. 114 calls *reſemblance of the Higheſt*; but how judiciouſly has Milton culled out the word *idol,* which though it be in its original ſignification the ſame as reſemblance, yet by its common application always in a bad ſenſe ſerved much better to expreſs the preſent character of Satan!

THYER.

With flaming Cherubim, and golden ſhields;
Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
'Twixt hoſt and hoſt but narrow ſpace was left,
A dreadful interval, and front to front
Preſented ſtood in terrible array
Of hideous length: Before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,
Satan, with vaſt and haughty ſtrides advanc'd,
Came towering, arm'd in adamant and gold;
Abdiel that fight endur'd not, where he ſtood
Among the mightieſt, bent on higheſt deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

Ver. 103. ——————— *for now*
'Twixt hoſt and hoſt but narrow ſpace was left,] The ſame circumſtance Taſſo has in his deſcription of the deciſive battle before the walls of Jeruſalem, cant. xx. ſt. 31.

" Decreſce in mezo il campo." THYER.

Ver. 111. *Abdiel that fight endur'd not,*] Virg. *Æn.* ii. 407.

" Non tulit hanc ſpeciem furiatâ mente Chorœbus."
NEWTON.

Ver. 113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.*] Such ſoliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midſt of battles. Thus Hector, *Iliad* xxii. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles,

Ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

A ſoliloquy upon ſuch an occaſion, is only making the perſon *think aloud.* And, as it is obſerved by a very good judge in theſe matters, this uſe of ſoliloquies by the epick poets, who might ſo much more eaſily than the dramatick deſcribe the workings of the mind in narrative, ſeems to be much in favour of the latter in their uſe of them, however the modern criticks agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemning them

O Heaven! that ſuch reſemblance of the Higheſt
Should yet remain, where faith and reälty
Remain not: Wherefore ſhould not ſtrength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakeſt prove
Where boldeſt, though to fight unconquerable?
His puiſſance, truſting in the Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whoſe reaſon I have tried
Unſound and falſe; nor is it aught but juſt,
That he, who in debate of truth hath won,
Should win in arms, in both diſputes alike
Victor; though brutiſh that contéſt and foul,
When reaſon hath to deal with force, yet ſo
Moſt reaſon is that reaſon overcome.
So pondering, and from his armed peers
Forth ſtepping oppoſite, half-way he met

as unnatural, though not only frequent, but generally the moſt beautiful parts in the beſt plays ancient and modern; and I believe very few, if any, have been written without them. NEWTON.

Ver. 115. ——— *where faith and* reälty] The author (ſays Dr. Bentley) would not have ſaid *reälty* but *realty*, and therefore the Doctor prefers *feälty*, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not neceſſary here. For *reälty* ſeems not to mean in this place *realty* in oppoſition to *ſhow*, but *loyalty*; for the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*. Beſides, where is the difference between *faith* and *fealty* or *fidelity*? PEARCE.

Ver. 119. ——— *truſting in the Almighty's aid,*] We may remark the piety of the good Angel; and indeed without the divine aid and aſſiſtance he would have been by no means a match for ſo ſuperiour an Angel. NEWTON.

His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus ſecurely him defied.
Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd
The highth of thy aſpiring unoppos'd,
The throne of God unguarded, and his ſide
Abandon'd, at the terrour of thy power
Or potent tongue: Fool! not to think how vain
Againſt the Omnipotent to riſe in arms;
Who out of ſmalleſt things could, without end,
Have rais'd inceſſant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or with ſolitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow,
Unaided, could have finiſh'd thee, and whelm'd
Thy legions under darkneſs: But thou ſeeſt
All are not of thy train; there be, who faith
Prefer, and piety to God, though then
To thee not viſible, when I alone

Ver. 135. ——— *Fool! not to think how vain* &c.] So Waller, in his Verſes, *On the taking of Salle*,

" *Fools*, to provoke the ſovereign of the ſea!"

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 590. And Homer frequently; from whom the reſt ſeem to have borrowed it. But Milton here particularly imitates Taſſo, c. iv. ſt. 2.

" Come ſia pur leggiera impreſa (*ahi ſtolto*)
" Il repugnare alla divina voglia &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 137. *Who out of ſmalleſt things* &c.] As was done to Pharaoh. See *Exod.* viii. GILLIES.

Ver. 139. ——— *with* ſolitary *hand*] His *ſingle* hand. NEWTON.

Seem'd in thy world erroneous to diſſent
From all: My ſect thou ſeeſt; now learn too late
How few ſometimes may know, when thouſands err.

Whom the grand foe, with ſcornful eye aſkance,
Thus anſwered. Ill for thee, but in wiſh'd hour
Of my revenge, firſt ſought for, thou return'ſt
From flight, ſeditious Angel! to receive
Thy merited reward, the firſt aſſay
Of this right hand provok'd, ſince firſt that tongue,

Ver. 147. ——— *my* ſect *thou ſeeſt*; &c.] The uſe of the word *ſect* in this place ſeems a little forced and ſingular; and I cannot help thinking but Milton brought it in, in order to ſneer the Loyaliſts of his time, who branded all Diſſenters, of whom he was one, with the opprobrious name of Sectaries. This alſo accounts for the word *few* in the next line, inaſmuch as it ſuited Milton's particular view better to eſtabliſh a general maxim, than to apply it merely to the ſingle caſe of Abdiel.

THYER.

Ver. 148. *How* few *ſometimes may know,*] Theſe *few* here are ſtill too many. To come up to the point he ſhould have given it, and I ſuppoſe did give it,

" How *one* ſometimes may know, when thouſands err;"

as above, v. 23. " That *one*, yet *one* return'd not loſt." Corn. Nepos in *Epaminonda*, " Ex quo intelligi poteſt *unum* hominem pluris quàm civitatem fuiſſe." Phædri, *Fab.* lxiii.

" Plus eſſe in *uno* ſæpe quàm in turba boni." BENTLEY.

I ſuppoſe the good Angel ſaid *few*, though *one* was particularly intended, as it is more modeſt and leſs aſſuming to himſelf; and for the reaſon hinted above, intimating that the Sectaries, though fewer in number, were yet more in the right than their oppoſers. NEWTON.

Inſpir'd with contradiction, durſt oppoſe
A third part of the Gods, in ſynod met
Their deities to aſſert; who, while they feel
Vigour divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'ſt
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me ſome plume, that thy ſucceſs may ſhow
Deſtruction to the reſt: This pauſe between,
(Unanſwer'd leſt thou boaſt) to let thee know,
At firſt I thought that Liberty and Heaven
To heavenly ſouls had been all one; but now
I ſee that moſt through ſloth had rather ſerve,
Miniſtring Spirits, train'd up in feaſt and ſong!
Such haſt thou arm'd, the minſtrelſy of Heaven,

Ver. 161. ——— *that thy ſucceſs may ſhow*] Thy ſucceſs, thy ill ſucceſs; the word ſucceſs is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, B. ii. 9. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *that thy ſucceſs may ſhow*
Deſtruction to the reſt:] Bentley ſays, a deteſtable fault: it ſhould be *inſtruction*. Mr. Pope ſays, *ſucceſs* ironicè. I do not know what this means. The text is right, and the meaning is, that thy ſucceſs may ſhow thy fellows the road to deſtruction, or the way to deſtroy their enemies. WARBURTON.

Ver. 167. *Miniſtring Spirits,*] So they are called *Heb.* i. 14. "Are they not all miniſtring Spirits?" and Satan mentions it in deriſion. Compare this with that of Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 614.

"Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice veſtis:
"Deſidiæ cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
"Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ.
"O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta
"Dindyma, ubi aſſuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
"Tympana vos buxúſque vocat Berecynthia matris
"Idææ: ſinite arma viris, et cedite ferro." NEWTON.

Servility with freedom to contend,
As both their deeds compar'd this day ſhall prove.
To whom in brief thus Abdiel ſtern replied.
Apoſtate! ſtill thou err'ſt, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjuſtly thou deprav'ſt it with the name
Of ſervitude, to ſerve whom God ordains,
Or Nature: God and Nature bid the ſame,
When he who rules is worthieſt, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is ſervitude,
To ſerve the unwiſe, or him who hath rebell'd
Againſt his worthier, as thine now ſerve thee,
Thyſelf not free, but to thyſelf enthrall'd;
Yet lewdly dar'ſt our miniſtring upbraid.

Ver. 172. *Apoſtate! ſtill thou err'ſt, nor end wilt find*
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:] Something like this is what Juno ſays to Jupiter, *Iliad* xix. 107.

Ψευδήσεις, ἐδ' αὖτε τίλος μύθῳ ἐπιθήσεις. THYER.

Ver. 176. ——— *God and Nature bid the ſame,*] Buchanan aſſerts the ſame, "*Eandem* ſcilicet Dei et Naturæ *vocem* eſſe." De Jure Regni apud Scotos, p. 28. BOWLE.

Perhaps Pope had Milton's expreſſion in mind, *Eſſay on Man*, Ep. iii. 317.

"Thus *God* and *Nature* link'd the general frame,
"And *bade* Self-love and Social be *the ſame*."

Ver. 181. *Thyſelf not free, but to thyſelf enthrall'd;*] So Horace, *Sat.* II. vii. 81.

"Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis ſervis miſer——
"Quiſnam igitur liber? ſapiens, ſibi qui imperioſus."

And, as to what is here ſaid of ſervitude, ſee Ariſtotle's *Politicks*, B. i. c. 3 and 4. NEWTON.

Reign thou in Hell, thy kingdom; let me ſerve
In Heaven God ever bleſt, and his divine
Behеſts obey, worthieſt to be obey'd;
Yet chains in Hell, not realms, expect: Mean while
From me return'd, as erſt thou ſaidſt, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious creſt receive.
So ſaying, a noble ſtroke he lifted high,

Ver. 183. ——— *in Hell, thy kingdom;*] Not that it was ſo at preſent. This is ſaid by way of anticipation. God had ordered him to be caſt out, v. 52, and, what the Almighty had pronounced, the good Angel looks upon as done. And this ſentiment,

" *Reign thou in Hell, thy kingdom; let me ſerve*
" *In Heaven God ever bleſt.*"

is deſigned as a contraſt to Satan's vaunt in B. i. 263.

" Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven."

NEWTON.

Ver. 187. *From me return'd, as erſt thou ſaidſt, from flight, This greeting* &c.] So Aſcanius in Virgil retorts his adverſary's term of reproach, *Æn.* ix. 635.

" *Bis capti Phryges* hæc Rutulis reſponſa remittunt,"

alluding to ver. 599. NEWTON.

Ver. 189. *So ſaying, a noble ſtroke he lifted high,* &c.] Milton's ſuperiority to Taſſo in his ſingle combats will appear, by comparing this fight of Michael and Satan with that of Tancredi and Argante in the Gierusalemme Liberata, c. vi, ſt. 40.

BOWLE.

Saying is here contracted into one ſyllable, or is to be pronounced as two ſhort ones, which very well expreſſes the eagerneſs of the Angel. He ſtruck at his foe before he had finiſhed his ſpeech, while he was ſpeaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading *So ſaid*, as if he had not aimed his blow, till after he had ſpoken. NEWTON.

Which hung not, but ſo ſwift with tempeſt fell
On the proud creſt of Satan, that no ſight,
Nor motion of ſwift thought, leſs could his ſhield,
Such ruin intercept: Ten paces huge
He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
His maſſy ſpear upſtaid; as if on earth
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way,
Sidelong had puſh'd a mountain from his ſeat,
Half ſunk with all his pines. Amazement ſeis'd
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage, to ſee
Thus foil'd their mightieſt; ours joy fill'd, and ſhout,
Preſage of victory, and fierce deſire
Of battle: Whereat Michaël bid ſound
The Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vaſt of Heaven

Ver. 195. ——— *as if on earth*
Winds under ground, &c.] Heſiod compares the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling, *Scut. Herc.* 421.

Ἤριπε δ', ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἤριπεν, ἢ ὅτε πίτρη
Ἠλίβατος, πληγεῖσα Διὸς ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.

And ſimiles of this kind are very frequent amongſt the ancient poets; but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we muſt allow, that he has with great art and judgement hightened it in proportion to the ſuperiour dignity of his ſubject. But perhaps he might rather more probably allude to Spenſer's deſcription of the fall of the old dragon, under which allegory he intended to repreſent a Chriſtian's victory over the Devil, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 54.

"So down he fell, as an huge rocky clift,
"Whoſe falſe foundation waves have waſh'd away,
"With dreadful poiſe is from the main land rift, &c."

THYER.

It ſounded, and the faithful armies rung
Hoſanna to the Higheſt: Nor ſtood at gaze
The adverſe legions, nor leſs hideous join'd
The horrid ſhock. Now ſtorming fury roſe,
And clamour ſuch as heard in Heaven till now
Was never; arms on armour claſhing bray'd
Horrible diſcord, and the madding wheels
Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noiſe

Ver. 205. ——————— *nor ſtood at gaze*
The adverſe legions, nor leſs hideous join'd
The horrid ſhock:] Heſiod, *Theog.* v. 675.

Τιτῆνες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας
Προφρονέως, χειρῶν τε, βίης θ' ἅμα ἔργον ἐφαίνον
Ἀμφότεροι.

Ver. 209. ——— *arms on armour claſhing* bray'd
Horrible diſcord,] Gray remembered this paſſage, when he wrote his *Bard:*

" Heard ye the din of battle *bray*,
" Lance to lance, and horſe to horſe?"

Maſon uſes the word, in the ſenſe of Spenſer and Shakſpeare, as ſignifying the noiſe of inſtruments: *Caract.* Ode:

" Hark! to my wheels of braſs that rattle loud!
" Hark! to my clarion ſhrill, that *brays* the woods among!"

Ver. 210. ——————— *and the* madding wheels
Of brazen chariots rag'd;] So, in *Fuimus Troes*, 1633, A. iv. S. iv.

" The jingling lances, rattling chariot-*wheels*,
" *Madded* their horſe."

Ver. 211. ——————— *dire was the noiſe*
Of conflict;] Heſiod, of the contending gods and Titans, *Theog.* v. 685.

——— Οἱ δὲ ξύνισαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ.

Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming vollies flew,
And flying vaulted either host with fire.

Ver. 212. ——————— *the dismal hiss*
Of fiery darts] Dr. Bentley acknowledges the magniloquence of style, and sublimity of thought, in this animated description of the conflict: But he supposes the poet to have deserted propriety, while hunting after sound and tumour, in saying, that *the hiss* flew in vollies, and *the hiss* vaulted the hosts with fire.

Dr. Pearce observes, that there is a peculiar force sometimes, in ascribing that to a circumstance of the thing, which more properly belongs to the thing itself; to the *hiss*, that which belongs to the *darts*.

Mr. Upton adds, that the substantive is sometimes to be construed adjectively, when governing a genitive case; as in Aristophanes, *Plut.* 268. Ὦ χρυσὸν ἀγγείλας ἐπῶν, "O thou who tellest me *a gold of words*," that is, *golden words*: And, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, p. 2. "Opening *the cherry of her lip*," that is, *cherry lips*: So here *the hiss of darts* is *hissing darts*.

Pope has literally copied Milton, in the fifteenth *Iliad*, v. 356.

"*Dire was the hiss of darts*, by heroes flung."

Ver. 214. *And flying vaulted either host with fire.*] Our author has frequently had his eye upon Hesiod's giant-war, as well as upon Homer, and has imitated several passages; but commonly exceeds his original, as he has done in this particular. Hesiod says that the Titans were overshadowed with darts, *Theog.* v. 716.

——— κατὰ δ' ἰσχίασαν βελέεσσι
Τιτῆνας,

but Milton has improved the horrour of the description; and a *shade of darts* is not near so great and dreadful an image as a *fiery rope* or *vault of flaming darts*. NEWTON.

Tasso and Ariosto have represented "the face of heaven overshadowed with darts." See *Orl. Fur.* c. xvi. st. 57. and *Gier.*

So under fiery cope together ruſh'd
Both battles main, with ruinous aſſault
And inextinguiſhable rage. All Heaven
Reſounded; and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her center ſhook. What wonder? when
Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought
On either ſide, the leaſt of whom could wield
Theſe elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions: How much more of power
Army againſt army numberleſs to raiſe
Dreadful combuſtion warring, and diſturb,
Though not deſtroy, their happy native ſeat;
Had not the Eternal King Omnipotent,
From his ſtrong hold of Heaven, high over-rul'd
And limited their might; though number'd ſuch
As each divided legion might have ſeem'd
A numerous hoſt; in ſtrength each armed hand
A legion; led in fight, yet leader ſeem'd

Lib. c. vii. ſt. 105. But their deſcriptions are inferiour to this of Milton.

Mr. Bowle here cites the following paſſage from the romance of *Amadis de Grecia*, P. i. c. 71. f. 91. b. "El rey hizo a mas de quinientos balleſteros que atando a los quadrillos de las ſaetas *fuego grigiſco* tiraſſen a las puertas de la cindad, y luego ſe hizo que en poca pieca lancaron tantas ſaetas en las puertas que en punto fueron quemadas ardiendo en vivas llamas."

Ver. 229. ——————— *though number'd ſuch* &c.] Each legion was in number like an army, each ſingle warriour was in ſtrength like a legion, and, though led in fight, was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated firſt for their *number*, then for their *ſtrength*, and laſtly for their *expertneſs* in war. NEWTON.

Each warriour ſingle as in chief, expert
When to advance, or ſtand, or turn the ſway
Of battle, open when, and when to cloſe
The ridges of grim war: No thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himſelf relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory: Deeds of eternal fame

Ver. 234. *When to advance, or ſtand,* &c.] Triſſino deſcribes theſe military movements in his *Italia Liberata*, lib. vi. v. 57.

" E tutti tornan preſtamente al dritto,
" Secondo il comandar del capitano.
" San condenſare, e rarefar le ſquadre,
" Doppiarle, e triplicarle, e per i giughi
" Congiunger le decurie, e per i verſi,
" O intercalarle in mezzo, o porre a dietro."

Ver. 236. *The ridges of grim war:*] A metaphor taken from a ploughed field; the men anſwer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful-looking, *war*; that is, the ranks of the army, the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of ſoldiers from flank to flank, from ſide to ſide, from the left to the right; the files are from front to rear. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *no thought of flight,*] So Homer, *Iliad* xi. 71.

——— Οὐδ' ἔτι μιν μάνετ' ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο.

See alſo *Iliad* xxiv. 216. NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ——— *each on himſelf relied,*
As only in his arm &c.] Addiſon has copied this ſentiment, in his *Campaign:*

" Each fought, as on his arm the important day,
" And all the fate of his great monarch, lay."

Ver. 239. *As only in his arm the* moment *lay*
Of victory:] The *moment*, the weight that turns

Were done, but infinite; for wide was ſpread
That war, and various; ſometimes on firm ground
A ſtanding fight, then, ſoaring on main wing,
Tormented all the air; all air ſeem'd then

the balance; as the word ſignifies in Latin: Terence, *Andr.* "Dum in dubio eſt animus, paulo *momento* huc vel illuc impellitur:" And, as he has employed here the metaphor of the *weight*, ſo of the *ſcale*, v. 245—uſing as a metaphor what Homer makes a ſimile of, *Iliad* xii. 433. And in ſeveral particulars he has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his maſter. Homer ſays, that the Greeks and Trojans *fought like burning fire*, *Iliad* xiii. 673. But how much ſtronger is it in Milton, that the war

"Tormented all the air; all air ſeem'd then
"Conflicting fire!"

It would be entering into too minute a detail of criticiſm, to mention every little circumſtance that is copied from Homer: And, where he does not directly copy from Homer, his ſtyle and colouring are ſtill very much in Homer's manner. Wonderful as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battles of the Angels ſo well, without firſt reading thoſe in the Iliad; and Homer taught him to excel Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 242. *That war, and various; ſometimes on firm ground*
A ſtanding fight, then, ſoaring &c.] The ſyntax and ſenſe is; The war was ſometimes a ſtanding fight on the ground, and ſometimes the war, ſoaring on main wing, tormented all the air. PEARCE.

Ver. 244. Tormented *all the* air;] Here Milton takes the ſame liberty of applying the word *torment*, as the Latins did in uſing *vexare*. So Marino, deſcribing Neptune raiſing a ſtorm, *Adon.* c. i. ſt. 123.

——— "e d' Aquiloni
"Col fulmine dentato (emulo a Gioue)
"*Tormentando* la terra, il mar commoue." THYER.

Conflicting fire. Long time in even ſcale
The battle hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious power had ſhown, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
Saw where the ſword of Michael ſmote, and fell'd
Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed ſway

So Spenſer, in the *Mourn. Muſe of Theſtylis*, ſpeaking of Æolus,

" Who, letting looſe the winds,
" Toſt and *tormented* the *air*." NEWTON.

And in Habington's *Caſtara*, 1635, p. 153.

" All the loud noiſes which *torment* the *ayre*."

Ver. 245. ——— *long time in* even ſcale
The battle hung;] Euripides, *Supplic.* v. 706.
——— ἦν δ' ἀγὼν ἰσόῤῥοπος.

And ſo Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, iv. iii. 37.

" Whilſt thus the caſe in *doubtfull ballance* hung, &c."

Where he imitates Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. ſt. 50.

" Così ſi combatteva, e in *dubbia lance*
" Col timor le ſperanze eran ſoſpeſe."

Ver. 247. ——— *and met in arms*
No equal,] The poet ſeems almoſt to have forgotten how Satan was foiled by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: But I ſuppoſe the poet did not conſider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, though he gained that accidental advantage over him. Satan, no doubt, would have proved an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which enſued, and broke off the combat between them. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ——— *with huge* two-handed *ſway*] Dr. Warburton obſerves, that it ſhows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had poſſeſſed the poet, to make Michael fight with a *two-handed ſword*.

Brandiſh'd aloft, the horrid edge came down
Wide-waſting; ſuch deſtruction to withſtand
He haſted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample ſhield,
A vaſt circumference. At his approach
The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toil
Surceas'd, and glad, as hoping here to end
Inteſtine war in Heaven, the arch-foe ſubdued
Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hoſtile frown
And viſage all inflam'd firſt thus began.
Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,

Mr. Bowle cites, from *Huon de Bourdeaux*, the following paſſage; "Mon *eſpee* laquelle je levay *à deux mains*," p. 30.

This formidable weapon is often mentioned indeed by our own writers. Thus, in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 18, a champion is armed with a "*two-hand ſword.*" And, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xii.

"Out of his hermit's ſtaffe his *two-hand ſword* he drew."

Ver. 255. *Of tenfold adamant,*] In other poets the Angels are armed in adamant, and in Taſſo there is particular mention of an adamantine ſhield, cant. 7. ſt. 82. "*Scudo di lucidiſſimo diamante:*" But Milton's is ſtronger, *of tenfold adamant.*

NEWTON.

Ver. 256. *A vaſt circumference:*] So, in B. i. 286, of his ſhield;

——— "the *broad circumference*
"Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon ——."

Ver. 262. *Author of evil,* &c.] "Amongſt the various conjectures on the origin of *Paradiſe Loſt*, and on Milton's obligations to other writers, I do not recollect to have ſeen it obſerved, that the dialogue which takes place between Satan and Michael, during the ſhort ſuſpenſion of the war in Heaven, was probably ſuggeſted by the following paſſage in Jean Petit's juſtification of

Unnam'd in Heaven, now plenteous, as thou
    ſeeſt
Theſe acts of hateful ſtrife, hateful to all,
Though heavieſt by juſt meaſure on thyſelf,
And thy adherents: How haſt thou diſturb'd
Heaven's bleſſed peace, and into nature brought
Miſery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion! how haſt thou inſtill'd
Thy malice into thouſands, once upright

the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, in regard to the death of the duke of Orleans. "Lucifer ſoy regardant, et conſiderant ſa noble creature tant belle et tant parfaicte, dit en ſa penſée luy meſmes: Je feray tant que je mettray ma chaire et mon throſne au deſſus de tous les autres anges, et feray ſemblable à Dieu. C'eſt à ſçavoir qu'on luy feroit obeïſſance comme à Dieu, et pour ce faire il deçeut une grand partie des anges et les attrahit à ſon opiniõ, c'eſt à ſçavoir qu' ils luy feroient obeïſſance, honneur et reverence par maniere d' hommage, comme à leur ſouverain ſeigneur, et ne ſeroient de riens ſubiects à Dieu mais à iceluy Lucifer, lequel tiendroit ſa maieſté pareillement comme Dieu la ſienne, exempte de toute la ſeigneurie de Dieu et de toute ſa ſubiection. Et ainſi voulloit tollir à Dieu ſon createur et ſouverain ſeigneur la grãd partie de ſa ſeigneurie et les attribuer à ſoy, et ce luy faiſoit faire convoitiſe, qui s' eſtoit boutée en sõ courage. Si toſt que S. Michel apperceut cela, il s'en vint à luy et luy dit que c'eſtoit trop mal fait et que jamais ne voulſiſt faire telle choſe, et que de tãt que Dieu l' avoit fait plus bel et plus parfait de tous les autres, de tant devoit il monſtrer greigneur ſigne de reverence, ſubiection et obeïſſance à celuy qui l'avoit fait plus bel, qui eſtoit ſon roy et ſouverain ſeigneur. Lucifer dit, qu' il n' ẽ feroit riens. Sainct Michel dit que luy et les autres ne ſouffreroient point telle iniure faire à leur createur et ſouverain ſeigneur, briefuement la bataille ſe meut entre celuy S. Michel et Lucifer.' *Chron. de Monſtrelet*, vol. i. p. 39." Walker's Memoir on Italian Tragedy, 1799, p. 334.

And faithful, now prov'd falſe! But think not here
To trouble holy reſt; Heaven caſts thee out
From all her confines. Heaven, the ſeat of bliſs,
Brooks not the works of violence and war.
Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offſpring, to the place of evil, Hell;
Thou and thy wicked crew! there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging ſword begin thy doom,
Or ſome more ſudden vengeance, wing'd from God,
Precipitate thee with augmented pain.
So ſpake the Prince of Angels; to whom thus
The Adverſary. Nor think thou with wind
Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canſt not. Haſt thou turn'd the leaſt of theſe

Ver. 275. *Hence then, and evil go with thee along,*
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell;
Thou and thy wicked crew! there mingle broils,] Imitated from Taſſo, where Michael in like manner rebukes the infernal Spirits who fought againſt the Chriſtians, c. ix. ſt. 64.

" Itene maledetti al voſtro regno,
" Regno di pene, e di perpetua morte:
" E ſiano in quegli a voi douuti chioſtri
" Le voſtre guerre, e i trionſi voſtri." NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *The Adverſary.*] Not as any enemy in fight may be called, but in a ſenſe peculiar to him; Satan being his name, and Satan in Hebrew ſignifying the *adverſary*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *Nor think thou* &c.] Homer, *Iliad* xx. 200.

Πηλείδη, μὴ δή μ' ἐπίεσσί γε, πηΰτιον ὄς,
Ἔλπεο δηϊόξεσθαι. NEWTON.

To flight, or if to fall, but that they riſe
Unvanquiſh'd, eaſier to tranſact with me
That thou ſhouldſt hope, imperious, and with threats
To chaſe me hence? err not, that ſo ſhall end
The ſtrife which thou call'ſt evil, but we ſtyle
The ſtrife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this Heaven itſelf into the Hell
Thou fableſt; here however to dwell free,
If not to reign: Mean while thy utmoſt force,
And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
I fly not, but have ſought thee far and nigh.

They ended parle, and both addreſs'd for fight
Unſpeakable; for who, though with the tongue
Of Angels, can relate, or to what things

Ver. 289. *The ſtrife which thou call'ſt* evil.] The author gave it

"The ſtrife which thou call'ſt *hateful*."

This appears from Michael's words above, v. 264.

"Theſe acts of *hateful ſtrife*, hateful to all."

BENTLEY.

But why may not this *evil* relate to v. 262? where Satan is called the *author of evil*, of evil diſplayed in acts of hateful ſtrife: and ſo in v. 275, *evil go with thee along* &c. I think that *hateful* would have been a more accurate expreſſion, but *evil* is juſtifiable. PEARCE.

Ver. 296. ——— *and both addreſs'd for fight*] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. ii. 12.

"And ſtreight himſelfe *unto the fight addreſt*."

Ver. 298. ——— *can relate*, &c.] The accuſative caſe after the verbs *relate* and *liken* is *fight* before mentioned, and here underſtood. *For who though with the tongue of Angels can relate*

Liken on earth conſpicuous, that may lift
Human imagination to ſuch highth
Of Godlike power? for likeſt Gods they ſeem'd,
Stood they or mov'd, in ſtature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
Now wav'd their fiery ſwords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad ſuns their ſhields
Blaz'd oppoſite, while Expectation ſtood
In horrour: From each hand with ſpeed retir'd,
Where erſt was thickeſt fight, the angelick throng,
And left large field, unſafe within the wind

that fight, *or to what conſpicuous things on earth can liken* it, ſo *conſpicuous* as to *lift human imagination* &c. A general battle is a ſcene of too much confuſion; and therefore the poets relieve themſelves and their readers, by drawing now and then a ſingle combat between ſome of their principal heroes; as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the *Iliad*, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the *Æneid*: And very fine they are, but fall very ſhort of the ſublimity of this deſcription. Thoſe are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this ſo far ſurpaſſes them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it. NEWTON.

Ver. 305. ——————— *While Expectation ſtood*
In horrour;] Expectation is perſonified in the like ſublime manner in Shakſpeare, *Hen.* v.

"For now ſits *Expectation* in the air." NEWTON.

And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, A. iii. S. i.

"And *Expectation*, like the Roman eagle,
"*Took ſtand*, and call'd all eyes."

Ver. 309. *And left large field*,] So, in Taſſo, *Cier. Lib.* c. vii. ſt. 83.

Of ſuch commotion; ſuch as, to ſet forth
Great things by ſmall, if, nature's concord broke,
Among the conſtellations war were ſprung,
Two planets, ruſhing from aſpect malign
Of fierceſt oppoſition, in mid ſky
Should combat, and their jarring ſpheres confound.
Together both with next to almighty arm

" E largamente à duo campioni, il campo
" Voto riman fra l' uno, e l' altro campo."

The champions in chivalry are generally repreſented as *taking large field*, or *ſpace*, to render their career more effective.

Ver. 313. *Two planets*, &c.] Milton ſeems to have taken his ſimile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his ſubject with his uſual judgement, *Æn.* viii. 691.

——————— " pelago credas innare revulſas
" Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos."

But, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, he has leſſened the grandeur and ſublimity of this ſimile, by tarniſhing it with the idle ſuperſtitious notion of the maligrancy of planets in a particular aſpect or *oppoſition*, as the judicial aſtrologers term it. NEWTON.

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Span. Curate*, A. i. S. i.

——————— " Now they begin to burn
" Like *oppos'd* meteors."

Dr. Pearce obſerves, that the copulative *And* is dropped before the words *Two Planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the highth of that noble fury with which the poet was poſſeſſed.

Ver. 316. *Together both with next to almighty arm*
Up-lifted imminent,] So I conceive the paſſage ſhould be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *up-lifted imminent* may be joined in conſtruction with *arm*, rather than with *ſtroke* or *they* following.

Up-lifted imminent, one ſtroke they aim'd
That might determine, and not need repeat,
As not of power at once; nor odds appear'd
In might or ſwift prevention: But the ſword
Of Michael from the armoury of God
Was given him temper'd ſo, that neither keen

The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over juſt ready to fall. One thinks one ſees it hanging almoſt like the ſtone in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 602.

" Quos ſuper atra ſilex jam jam lapſura, cadentique
" *Imminet* aſſimilis." NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ——————— *one ſtroke they aim'd*
That might determine,] So, in the *Orlando* of Eſpinoſa, c. xviii. ſt. 38.

" Penſo *de un golpe* l' henderia,
" Y ſu contienda brava acabaria."

And, in the *Orl. Innam.* of Boiardo, L. i. c. xvi. ſt. 14.

" Pensò finir la guerra *a un colpo* Orlando." BOWLE.

Ver. 321. ——— *from the armoury of God*] Dr. Newton obſerves, that Taſſo likewiſe mentions the armoury of God, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. ſt. 80. Milton had before mentioned " *celeſtial armoury*," B. iv. 553. But he adverted, not to *Taſſo*, but to *Jeremiah* l. 25. " The Lord hath opened *his armoury*." He has the phraſe again, B. vii. 200.

Ver. 322. *Was given him temper'd ſo*, &c.] This account of Michael's ſword ſeems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. i. 10.

" For of moſt perfect metall it was made,—
" And was of no leſs virtue than of fame.
" For there no ſubſtance was ſo firm and hard,
" But it would pierce or cleave, whereſo it came;
" Ne any armour could his dint out-ward,
" But, whereſoever it did light, it throughly *ſhar'd*."

Nor ſolid might reſiſt that edge: it met
The ſword of Satan, with ſteep force to ſmite
Deſcending, and in half cut ſheer; nor ſtaid,
But with ſwift wheel reverſe, deep entering, ſhar'd
All his right ſide: Then Satan firſt knew pain,
And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; ſo ſore

The word *ſhar'd* is uſed in the ſame manner by Milton. NEWTON.

Theſe qualities of the ſword are ſpecified in romance; *Hiſtoria de Carlo Magno*, l. i. c. 21. "Fierabras cino ſu eſpada namada Plorança, y tenia otras dos al arçon de la ſilla, las quales eran *de tal temple* que ningun armes porfino que fueſſe *las mallas*, in hizo *fendal* en ellas." BOWLE.

Ver. 325. *Deſcending,*] The *deſcending* of the ſword is the almoſt univerſal language of romance. "La eſpada *deſcendio* haſta los pechos," *Amad. de Gaul.* l. i. c. 6. c. 39. l. iii. "El eſpada *deſcendio* al cuello del cavallo," *Palmerin de Oliva* fol. 59. 6. "L'eſpée l'atteignit ſur l'un des cottez en *deſcendant*," *Huon de Bourdeaux*, 45. "*Scende* la ſpada, &c." Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* l. i. c. xix. ſt. 14. "La ſpada del ciel *ſcende*," Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxviii. ſt. 15. BOWLE.

Ver. 328. ——————— *ſo ſore*
The griding *ſword with* diſcontinuous wound
Paſs'd through him:] *Diſcontinuous wound* is ſaid in alluſion to the old definition of a wound, that it ſeparates the *continuity* of the parts, "Vulnus eſt ſolutio *continui*:" And *griding* is an old word for cutting, as in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 36.

"That through his thigh the mortal ſteel did *gride*."
NEWTON.

The wounding of Satan, and his behaviour after the battle, ſeem to be an improvement upon Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 24.

"The wicked ſteele, for miſchief firſt ordained,
"And having now misfortune got for guide,

The griding ſword with diſcontinuous wound
Paſs'd through him: But the ethereal ſubſtance clos'd,
Not long diviſible; and from the gaſh
A ſtream of nectarous humour iſſuing flow'd

" Staid not, till it arrived in his ſide,
" And therein made a very grieſly wound,
" That ſtreames of bloud his armour all bedide:
" Much was he daunted with that direfull ſtound,
" That ſcarſe he him upheld from falling in a ſwound."

25.

" Yet, as he might, himſelf he ſoft withdrew
" Out of the field, that none perceiv'd it plaine."

BOWLE.

Ver. 332. *A ſtream of* nectarous *humour iſſuing flow'd Sanguine,*] Here is an odious blunder. *Nectar* is the drink of the Gods: and was Satan's *humour* or *blood* a proper drink? But the next line ſhows what the author dictated,

" Sanguine, ſuch as celeſtial Spirits may bleed."

The whole diſtich is, word for word, taken from a verſe in Homer,

Ἰχὼρ, οἷός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

Homer's Gods, when wounded, bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his angels bleed the ſame humour, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

" A ſtream of *ichorous* humour iſſuing flow'd."

BENTLEY.

I ſhould have thought, that an attentive reader could not have miſſed obſerving that the *ſtream*, which Milton ſpeaks of, was not of *nectarous humour* only, but of *nectarous humour ſanguine*, that is, converted into what *celeſtial ſpirits bleed*: And what is that but the ſame which Homer expreſſes by one word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's meaning, the doctor's objection

Sanguine, ſuch as celeſtial Spirits may bleed,
And all his armour ſtain'd, ere while ſo bright.
Forthwith on all ſides to his aid was run
By Angels many and ſtrong, who interpos'd
Defence, while others bore him on their ſhields
Back to his chariot, where it ſtood retir'd
From off the files of war: There they him laid
Gnaſhing for anguiſh, and deſpite, and ſhame,
To find himſelf not matchleſs, and his pride
Humbled by ſuch rebuke, ſo far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.
Yet ſoon he heal'd; for Spirits that live throughout

is wide of the mark. Beſides, if *nectarous* was wrong, *icherous* would ſeem to be right; becauſe the middle ſyllable of it ſhould be long, according to the proſody of the word from which it is derived. PEARCE.

Ver. 335. ——— *to his aid* was run] A Latiniſm, ſays Dr. Newton, as in Virgil, "Poſtquam arma dei ad Vulcania *ventum eſt*." Milton, I obſerve, thus writes in his *Hiſt. of Eng.* B. ii. "Now *was fought* eagerly on both ſides."

Ver. 336. ——— *who interpos'd*] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpoſe between their wounded hero, when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his ſun-bright chariot at ver. 103, and, according to the Homerick manner, is now wounded, and borne (on the ſhields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was placed out of the range and array of battle, *Iliad.* xiv. 428.

———Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἑταῖροι
Χερσὶν ἀείραντες φέρον ἐκ πόνου, ὄφρ' ἵκεθ' ἵππους
Ὠκείας, οἳ οἱ ὄπισθε μάχης ἠδὲ πολέμοιο
Ἕστασαν, ἡνιόχοιό τε καὶ ἅρματα ποικίλ' ἔχοντες &c.

much more looſe and redundant than our expreſſive author.

HUME.

Ver. 344. *Yet ſoon he heal'd*;] Pſellus relates of devils,

Vital in every part, not as frail man
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all ſenſe; and, as they pleaſe,
They limb themſelves, and colour, ſhape, or ſize
Aſſume, as likes them beſt, condenſe or rare.
Mean while in other parts like deeds deſerv'd
Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,

" that they *feele paine* if they be hurt; that, if their bodies be cut, *with admirable celerity they come together againe*; that, *in their fall*, their bodies were *charged* into a more aeriall and *groſſe* ſubſtance." See Burton's *Anat. Melanch.* ed. 1624, p. 37. And compare alſo the following paſſage in this book;

——— " Spirits of pureſt light,
" Pureſt at firſt, now *groſs by ſinning* grown."

Ver. 348. *Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound*
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:] The ſame compariſon in Shakſpeare's *Macbeth*,

" As eaſy may'ſt thou the intrenchant air
" With thy keen ſword impreſs, as make me bleed."
NEWTON.

Ver. 350. *All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,*
All intellect, all ſenſe;] This is expreſſed very much like Pliny's account of God, *Nat. Hiſt.* L. i. c. vii. " Quiſquis eſt Deus, ſi modo eſt alius, quacunque in parte, totus eſt ſenſus, totus viſus, totus auditus, totus animæ, totus animi, totus ſui." NEWTON.

Ver. 355. ——— *the might of Gabriel*] See Hume's note, B. v. 371.

And with fierce enſigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloch, furious king; who him defied,
And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
Refrain'd his tongue blaſphémous; but anon
Down cloven to the waiſt, with ſhatter'd arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing
Uriel, and Raphaël, his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,

Ver. 359. ——— *nor from the Holy One of Heaven*
Refrain'd his tongue blaſphémous;] II Kings xix. 22. "Whom haſt thou reproached and *blaſphemed?*—even *the Holy One* of Iſrael." GILLIES.

Ver. 362. *And* uncouth pain *fled* bellowing.] *Uncouth* is a word very common with Spenſer; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it, had in view the following lines, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 20.

"The percing ſteele there wrought a wound full wyde,
"That with the *uncouth ſmart* the monſter *lowdly cryde*."
THYER.

Ver. 363. *Uriel, and* Raphael,] The ſpeaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himſelf as a third perſon, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name. Had he known it, he muſt have ſaid "Uriel and *I*;" which he cared not to do. BENTLEY.

Ibid. *Uriel, and Raphaël, his vaunting foe,*] Dr. Bentley and Mr. Thyer are of opinion, that a word is left out in this line, and that the ſenſe and the meaſure would be improved by reading it thus;

"Uriel, and *Raphael, each* his vaunting foe." NEWTON.

Ver. 364. ——— *and in a rock of diamond arm'd,*] Compare P. Fletcher, *Purp. Iſl.* c. x. ſt. 15.

Vanquiſh'd Adrameleech, and Aſmadai,
Two potent Thrones, that to be leſs than Gods
Diſdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
Mangled with ghaſtly wounds through plate and mail.
Nor ſtood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The atheiſt crew, but with redoubled blow
Ariel, and Arioch, and the violence
Of Ramiel ſcorch'd and blaſted, overthrew.
I might relate of thouſands, and their names

" His *rockie arms* of maſſie *adamant*
" Safely could back rebutt the hardeſt blade."

Ver. 365. Adrameleech, *and* Aſmadai,] *Adrameleeh*, Hebrew, *mighty, magnificent king*; one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worſhipped by them in Samaria, when tranſlated thither by Shalmaneſer, II *Kings* xvii. 31. *Aſmadai*, the *luſtful* and *deſtroying* angel Aſmodeus, mentioned in *Tobit* iii. 8. HUME.

Ver. 368. *Mangled with ghaſtly wounds through* plate and mail.] Spenſer, *Faery Qu.* i. vi. 43.

—— " with their force they perſt both *plate and mail*,
" And made wide furrowes in their fleſhes fraile."

Ver. 371. Ariel, *and* Arioch,] *Ariel*, Hebrew, *the lion of God*, or *a ſtrong lion*. *Arioch* of the like ſignification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. HUME.

Ibid. —————— *the violence*
Of Ramiel] Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 376. " *Violentia Turni.*" That is, the violent Turnus himſelf. UPTON.

Ver. 372. *Ramiel*] Hebrew, *One that exalts himſelf againſt God*. HUME.

Ver. 373. *I might relate of thouſands,*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the angel an excellent reaſon for not relating more particulars of this firſt battle. It would have been im-

Eternize here on earth; but thoſe elect
Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,
Seek not the praiſe of men: The other ſort,
In might though wonderous and in acts of war,
Nor of renown leſs eager, yet by doom
Cancell'd from Heaven and ſacred memory,
Nameleſs in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For ſtrength from truth divided, and from juſt,
Illaudable, nought merits but diſpraiſe
And ignominy; yet to glory aſpires
Vain-glorious, and through infamy ſeeks fame:
Therefore eternal ſilence be their doom.
And now, their mightieſt quell'd, the battle ſwerv'd,
With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout
Enter'd, and foul diſorder; all the ground

proper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it: but it was proper that the angel ſhould appear to know more than he choſe to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate. NEWTON.

Ver. 382. *Illaudable,*] Is uſed here much in the ſame manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5.

——— "Quis aut Euryſthea durum,
"Aut *illaudati* neſcit Buſiridis aras?" NEWTON.

Ver. 386. ——— *the battle* ſwerv'd,] Heſiod, *Theog.* v. 711. 'ΕΚΛΙΝΘΗ δὲ μάχη. THYER.

Swerv'd, from the Saxon *ſwerven*, to wander out of its place; here, by analogy, to bend, to ply; for in that caſe an army in battle properly *ſwerves*. RICHARDSON.

The word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. x. 35.

"Who from his ſaddle *ſwerved* nought aſide." NEWTON.

With ſhiver'd armour ſtrown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd,
And fiery-foaming ſteeds; what ſtood, recoil'd
O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanick hoſt
Defenſive ſcarce, or with pale fear ſurpris'd,
Then firſt with fear ſurpris'd, and ſenſe of pain,
Fled ignominious, to ſuch evil brought
By ſin of diſobedience; till that hour
Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain.
Far otherwiſe the inviolable Saints,
In cubick phalanx firm, advanc'd entire,

Ver. 391. ——— *what ſtood, recoil'd* &c.] The conſtruction has occaſioned ſome difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What ſtood* is the nominative caſe in the ſentence, and the verbs are *recoil'd* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to ſay that *what ſtood* their ground, *fled*; but that is not the meaning of it, *what ſtood* is put in oppoſition to what *lay overturn'd* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanick hoſt *lay overturn'd*; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, *and ſtood*, either gave way and *recoil'd o'er-wearied*, or *with pale fear ſurpris'd*, *fled ignominious*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 396. ——— *till that hour* &c.] It ſeems a very extraordinary circumſtance attending a battle, that not only none of the warriours on either ſide were capable of death by wound, but on one ſide none were capable of wound, or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the ſide of the good Angels; but we muſt ſuppoſe that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakneſs *till this hour*. NEWTON.

Ver. 399. *In cubick phalanx firm,*] In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, to have been *cubick*, it muſt have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley juſtly obſerves. But why muſt a poet's mind, ſublimed as Milton's was on this occaſion, be expected to attend to every circumſtance of an epithet made uſe of? He meant *four*

Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd;
Such high advantages their innocence
Gave them above their foes; not to have ſinn'd,
Not to have diſobey'd; in fight they ſtood
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
By wound, though from their place by violence mov'd.

Now Night her courſe began, and, over Heaven
Inducing darkneſs, grateful truce impos'd,
And ſilence on the odious din of war:
Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,

ſquare only, having that property of a *cube* to be equal in length on all ſides. And ſo he expreſſes himſelf in his tract called *The Reaſon of Church Government* &c. p. 215. edit. Toland. "*As thoſe ſmaller ſquares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and ſtedfaſtneſs.*" To be ſure, Milton's *cubick*, though not ſtrictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial* (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) becauſe a *phalanx* in battle could not be otherwiſe than *martial*; and ſo cloſely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. PEARCE.

Ver. 405. —— *though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumſtance is judiciouſly added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight. NEWTON.

Ver. 406. *Now Night her courſe began, and, over Heaven Inducing darkneſs, grateful truce impos'd,*] The ſame with Taſſo on a like occaſion, *G. L.* cant. xi. ſt. 18.

"Sin che ſe nuova tregua à la fatica
"La cheta notte, e del ripoſo amica." THYER.

Ver. 407. *Inducing darkneſs,*] He ſeems here to have copied Horace, *Sat.* I. v. 9.

——"Jam *nox inducere* terris
"Umbras, et cœlo diffundere ſigna parabat." NEWTON.

Victor and vanquiſh'd: On the foughten field
Michaël and his Angels prevalent
Encamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,
Cherubick waving fires: On the other part,
Satan with his rebellious diſappear'd,
Far in the dark diſlodg'd; and, void of reſt,
His potentates to council call'd by night;
And in the midſt thus undiſmay'd began.
O now in danger tried, now known in arms

Ver. 410. ——— *on the* foughten *field*] Dr. Lowth objects to this participle as not agreeable to the analogy of derivation, which obtains in irregular verbs in *ght*.

Milton adopted it from preceding poets. Thus Shakſpeare, *K. Hen.* V.

" As in this glorious and well-*foughten* field."

And Drayton, *Polyolb.* Song xii.

" In ſeven brave *foughten* fields—"

And Beaumont and Fletcher, *Laws of Candy*, A. iii. S. i.

———" the ſad ſports we riot in
" Are tales of *foughten* fields."

Ver. 413. *Cherubick waving fires:*] Their watches were *Cherubick waving fires*, that is, Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being deſcribed by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery ſubſtance and nature. NEWTON.

Ver. 415. ——— *and, void of reſt,*
His potentates to council call'd by night;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night, *Iliad* ix. NEWTON.

Ver. 418. *O now in danger tried,* &c.] This ſpeech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himſelf of the only comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement (though it was a falſe comfort) that God was neither ſo powerful nor wiſe as he was taken to be. He

Not to be overpower'd, Companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone,
Too mean pretence! but what we more affect,
Honour, dominion, glory, and renown;
Who have ſuſtain'd one day in doubtful fight,
(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven's Lord had powerfulleſt to ſend
Againſt us from about his throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to ſubdue us to his will,
But proves not ſo: Then fallible, it ſeems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniſcient thought. True is, leſs firmly arm'd,
Some diſadvantage we endur'd and pain,
Till now not known, but, known, as ſoon contemn'd;
Since now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury,

was forced to acknowledge, that they had ſuffered ſome loſs and pain, but endeavours to leſſen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cauſe, but to their want of better arms and armour, with which he therefore propoſes that they ſhould provide themſelves, in order both to defend themſelves and annoy their enemies. NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *Honour,*] Dr. Pearce obſerves, that Milton here means by *honour* that which ariſes from high titles.

Ver. 431. ——————— *and pain,*
Till now not known, but, known, as ſoon contemn'd;
Since now we find &c.] Prometheus in like manner comforts and confirms himſelf againſt Jupiter's threats, Æſchyl. *Prom. Vinct.* v. 932.

Τί δ' ἂν φοβοίμην, ᾧ θανεῖν οὐ μόρσιμον; THYER.

Imperiſhable, and, though pierc'd with wound,
Soon cloſing, and by native vigour heal'd.
Of evil then ſo ſmall as eaſy think
The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May ſerve to better us, and worſe our foes,
Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none: If other hidden cauſe
Left them ſuperiour, while we can preſerve
Unhurt our minds, and underſtanding ſound,
Due ſearch and conſultation will diſcloſe.
He ſat; and in the aſſembly next upſtood
Niſroch, of Principalities the prime;
As one he ſtood eſcap'd from cruel fight,
Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havock hewn,
And cloudy in aſpéct thus anſwering ſpake.
Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
Againſt unequal arms to fight in pain,
Againſt unpain'd, impaſſive; from which evil
Ruin muſt needs enſue; for what avails
Valour or ſtrength, though matchleſs, quell'd with pain

Ver. 447. *Niſroch,*] A god of the Aſſyrians, in whoſe temple Sennacherib was killed by his two ſons, II *Kings* xix. 37. It is not known who this deity was. He muſt have been a principal idol, being worſhipped by ſo great a prince, and at the capital city Nineveh; which may juſtify Milton in calling him *of Principalities the prime.* NEWTON.

Which all ſubdues, and makes remiſs the hands
Of mightieſt? Senſe of pleaſure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmeſt life:
But pain is perfect miſery, the worſt
Of evils, and, exceſſive, overturns
All patience. He, who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourſelves with like defence, to me deſerves
No leſs than for deliverance what we owe.
Whereto with look compos'd Satan replied.
Not uninvented that, which thou aright
Believ'ſt ſo main to our ſucceſs, I bring.
Which of us who beholds the bright ſurface

Ver. 462. ——————— *the worſt*
Of evils,] Nifroch is made to talk agreeably to the ſentiments of Hieronymus and thoſe philoſophers, who maintained that pain was the greateſt of evils; there might be a poſſibility of living without pleaſure, but there was no living in pain. A notion ſuitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Aſſyrians. NEWTON.

Ver. 467. ——————— *to me deſerves*
No leſs than for deliverance what we owe.] Nifroch is ſpeaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of *Deliverer*; here he ventures to ſay that *Whoever could invent the new engine of war would be equal to him in his eſtimation.* Milton has taken care that this deliverer ſhould alſo have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 472. *Which of us who beholds the bright ſurface*] *Surface* is to be read with the accent on the laſt ſyllable.

The conſtruction of this ſentence is, "Which of us who be-

Of this ethereous mould whereon we ſtand,
This continent of ſpacious Heaven, adorn'd
With plant, fruit, flower ambroſial, gems, and gold;
Whoſe eye ſo ſuperficially ſurveys
Theſe things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of ſpiritous and fiery ſpume, till, touch'd
With Heaven's ray, and temper'd, they ſhoot forth
So beauteous, opening to the ambient light?
Theſe in their dark nativity the deep
Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame;
Which, into hollow engines, long and round,

holds &c., ſo ſuperficially ſurveys theſe things:" But, as the nominative caſe *Which of us* is mentioned ſo many lines before the verb *ſurveys*, he throws in another nominative caſe, *Whoſe eye*, v. 476. NEWTON.

Ver. 482. ——————— *the deep*] It is commonly uſed for *Hell*, but here is only oppoſed to *ſurface*, v. 472; and is the ſame as *deep under ground*, v. 478; which may likewiſe explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mentioned before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known. NEWTON.

Ver. 484. *Which, into hollow engines*, &c.] *Which*, that is, the *materials*, v. 478. *Theſe* the deep ſhall yield us, v. 482.

Hollow engines, great guns; the firſt invention of which is very properly attributed to the author of all evil. Arioſto has deſcribed them in the ſame manner, *Orl. Fur.* c. ix. ſt. 28; and attributes the invention to the Devil. Spenſer has the ſame thought, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 13.

Thick ramm'd, at the other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, ſhall ſend forth 486

" As when that diveliſh yron engin, wrought
" In deepeſt hell, and framd by furies ſkill,
" With windy nitre and quick ſulphur fraught,
" And ramd with bullet rownd, ordaind to kill, &c."
NEWTON.

See alſo Drayton's deſcription in the eighteenth Song of his *Polyolbion*, 1622.

" What time (I thinke *in hell*) *that inſtrument deuis'd*,
" The firſt appear'd in *France*, as a prodigious birth
" *To plague the wretched world*, ſent from the envious earth."

By the way, it may amuſe the curious reader to give Harington's remarks on the invention of cannon, at the end of his tranſlation of the ninth and eleventh books of Arioſto, edit. 1607.

" Of the inuention of gunnes Arioſto affirmeth in a manner that they were inuented in *Germanie*. And ſo I haue read, that the firſt time they were vſed was in the yeare 1391, in the Venetians war againſt the Genoeſe; but it is maruell that the inuentors name of ſo monſtrous a thing is not knowne. Bacon, the great Engliſh necromancer, wrote many yeares before that time, that he knew how to make an engin, that, with ſalt peter and brimſtone wel tempered togeather, ſhould proue notable for batterie, but he ſaid he would not diſcouer it, for feare it would be *a meane to deſtroy all mankinde*.

" Virgil hath a verſe in the ſixt of the Æneados, which myſelfe have wondered at many times, to ſee how plainely it expreſſeth the qualitie of a peece of Ordenance. He tells us, that one Salmoneus, a gyant, had an engin of warre, with which he imitated Iupiters thunder and lightning: And ſurely this he would not haue fained, but that he heard of ſome ſuch thing. The verſe is this,

" *Dum flammas Jovis et ſonitus imitatur Olympi.*"

Some of our far trauelled men tell vs, that they of *Chyna* had vſe of peeces ſome thouſands of yeares, which I could be willing

From far, with thundering noiſe, among our foes
Such implements of miſchief, as ſhall daſh
To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever ſtands
Adverſe, that they ſhall fear we have diſarm'd
The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long ſhall be our labour; yet ere dawn,
Effect ſhall end our wiſh. Mean while revive;
Abandon fear; to ſtrength and counſel join'd
Think nothing hard, much leſs to be deſpair'd.

He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
Enlighten'd, and their languiſh'd hope reviv'd.
The invention all admir'd, and each, how he
To be the inventer miſs'd; ſo eaſy it ſeem'd
Once found, which yet unfound moſt would have thought
Impoſſible: Yet, haply, of thy race
In future days, if malice ſhould abound,
Some one intent on miſchief, or inſpir'd
With deviliſh machination, might deviſe

to credit, ſaue that they alſo tell of the records there ſince before Adam's creation many yeares."

That guns were the *devil's invention*, appears to have been the opinion of other perſons, beſides the poets. See Grey's Notes on Shakſpeare, vol. i. 383.

Ver. 502. *In future days* ——————

Some one intent &c.] This ſpeaking in the ſpirit of prophecy, adds great dignity to poetry. It is in the ſame ſpirit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* iv. 625.

" Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor &c."

This, here, very properly comes from the mouth of an Angel. NEWTON.

Like inſtrument to plague the ſons of men
For ſin, on war and mutual ſlaughter bent.
Forthwith from council to the work they flew;
None arguing ſtood; innumerable hands
Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd
Wide the celeſtial ſoil, and ſaw beneath
The originals of nature in their crude
Conception; ſulphurous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and, with ſubtle art,

Ver. 507. *Forthwith from council to the work they flew;*] This and the two following lines are admirably contrived to expreſs the hurry of the Angels; and conſiſt therefore of ſhort periods, without any particles to connect them. NEWTON.

Ver. 512. ——————*ſulphurous and nitrous foam*
They found, they mingled, &c.] See the quotation from Spenſer, in note on v. 484. Valvaſone's poem on the *War of Heaven* has been mentioned, in the note on B. v. 689. Mr. Hayley, in his *Conjectures on the Origin of the Paradiſe Loſt*, notices the familiarity of Milton with this work, and tranſcribes from it the following verſes, as they aſſign to the Infernal Powers the invention of artillery, and exhibit ſeveral minute circumſtances in the deſcription, with which Milton appears to have been ſtruck:

" Di *ſalnitro*, e di *zolfo* oſcura polve
" *Chiude* altro *in ferro cavo;* e poi la tocca
" Dietro col foco, e in foco la riſolve:
" *Onde fragoſo tuon ſubito ſcocca:*
" *Scocca e lampeggia, e una palla volve,*
" *Al cui ſcontro ogni duro arde e trabocca:*
" *Crud' è 'l ſaetta,* CH' IMITAR S' ATTENTA
" L' ARME CHE 'L SOMMO DIO DAL CIELO AVENTA.

" L' Angelo rio, quando a concorrer ſorſe
" Di ſaper, di bellezza, e di poſſanza
" Con l' eterno fattor, perche s' accorſe
" Quell' arme non aver, ch' ogni arme avanza,

Concocted and adusted they reduc'd
To blackest grain, and into store convey'd:
Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
Whereof to found their engines and their balls
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
With silent circumspection, unespied.

" *L' empio ordigno a compor l' anima torse,*
" *Che ferir può del folgore a sembianza:*
" *E con questo a' dì nostri horrido in terra*
" *Tiranno, arma di folgori ogni guerra.*"

Ver. 516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,*] Dr. Bentley has carried on the mark of parentheſis to the end of the verſe; but it ſhould be placed after *unlike:* and the *ſtone* may have been mentioned here as what they uſed for *balls*. That ſtone-bullets have been in uſe, ſee Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or, Milton by the word *ſtone* here would expreſs more diſtinctly that the metal, of which they made their *engines* and *balls*, was enclosed in, and mixed with, a ſtony ſubſtance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*. PEARCE.

Ver. 520. ——— pernicious *with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engines and balls do no miſchief till touched by that; but probably *pernicious* is not to be underſtood here in the common acceptation, but in the ſenſe of the Latin *pernix*, quick, ſpeedy, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 521. ——— *under* conſcious *night,*] Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 15.

——— " quorum nox *conſcia* ſola eſt." HUME.

Now when fair morn orient in Heaven appear'd,
Up roſe the victor-Angels, and to arms
The matin trumpet ſung: In arms they ſtood
Of golden panoply, refulgent hoſt,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Look'd round, and ſcouts each coaſt light-armed ſcour,
Each quarter, to deſcry the diſtant foe,
Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,

Ver. 524. *Now when fair* morn orient *in Heaven appear'd,*] So, in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Progreſs*, A. iii. S. i.

"The *orient morning* breaking out in odours."

And in Greene's *Never too late*, part 2d; "The Sunne, who, riſing bright and *orient*, continueth but his appointed courſe."

Ver. 525. ——— *to arms*
The matin trumpet ſung:] So Taſſo, literally the ſame, *Ger. Lib.* c. xi. ſt. 19.

"Quando *à cantar la mattutina tromba*
"*Comincia à l'arme.*" THYER.

Ver. 527. *Of golden* panoply,] *Armour from head to foot.* Πανοπλία, Greek, *armour at all points.* HUME.

This word had been before employed by Milton's friend, Henry More, the great Platoniſt, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1. p. 43.

"In perfect ſilver gliſtring *panoply*
"They ride, the army of the higheſt God."

Ver. 528. ——— *others from the dawning hills*] This epithet is uſually applied to the *light*, but here very poetically to the *hills*, the dawn firſt appearing over them, and they ſeeming to bring the riſing day; as the evening-ſtar is ſaid likewiſe firſt to appear *on his hill-top*, B. viii. 520. NEWTON.

In motion or in halt: Him ſoon they met
Under ſpread enſigns moving nigh, in flow
But firm battalion; back with ſpeedieſt ſail
Zophiel, of Cherubim the ſwifteſt wing,
Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cried.
Arm, Warriours, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will ſave us long purſuit
This day; fear not his flight; ſo thick a cloud
He comes, and ſettled in his face I ſee
Sad reſolution, and ſecure: Let each

Ver. 535. *Zophiel,*] In Hebrew, *the ſpy of God.* HUMF.

Ver. 537. *Arm, Warriours, arm for fight; the foe at hand,* &c.] This ſpeech of Zophiel's ſeems formed upon a paſſage or two in the fourth book of Silius Italicus, *Pun. Bell.* v. 98.

" Arma, viri, capite arma, viri; dux inſtat uterque
" Ambobus velox virtus, &c."

Again, v. 94.

———— " commoto docuerunt pulvere nubes
" Hoſtem ferre gradum."

Compare alſo Taſſo, *Gier. Conq.* L. iv. ſt. 19.

——— " ogn' un s' affretti; e l' arme hor prenda.
" Ecco il nemico e quì: mira la polve,
" Che ne l' oſcura nebbia il cielo involve." BOWLE.

Ver. 539. ———————— *ſo thick a cloud*
He comes,] This metaphor is uſual in all languages ſo expreſs a great multitude; as in *Heb.* xii. 1. " *a cloud* of witneſſes," in Homer, *Il.* iv. 274. ΝΕΦΟΣ ωιζών, and in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 793. " *nimbus* peditum." NEWTON.

Ver. 541. Sad *reſolution*] *Fixed, ſteady* reſolution. So, in Chaucer, *The Clerkes Tale,* v. 8923.

" And ſhe ay *fade* and conſtant as a wall."

His adamantine coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe faſt his orbed ſhield,
Borne even or high; for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture aught, no drizzling ſhower,
But rattling ſtorm of arrows barb'd with fire.
So warn'd he them, aware themſelves, and ſoon
In order, quit of all impediment;
Inſtant without diſturb they took alarm,
And onward mov'd embattled: When behold!
Not diſtant far with heavy pace the foe
Approaching groſs and huge, in hollow cube

Ver. 541. ——————— *let each*
His adamantine coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, &c.] This is plainly copied from Agamemnon's directions in Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 382.
NEWTON.

The phraſe, "his *adamantine coat*," is probably from Horace, *Od.* I. vi. 13.

——— "Martem *tunicâ* tectum *adamantinâ*."

Ver. 545. *If I conjecture* aught,] Fenton propoſes to read, "If I conjecture *right*."

Ibid. ——————— *no drizzling* ſhower,
But rattling ſtorm of arrows *barb'd with fire*.] See *Par. Regained*, B. iii. 324, and notes there.

Ver. 546. ——————— barb'd *with fire*.] *Bearded*, headed, with fire. Of the French *barbe*, and the Latin *barba*, a beard. HUME.

Ver. 548. ——————— *quit of all* impediment;] The carriages and baggage of an army were called in Latin *impedimenta*: And the good angels are here ſaid to be "*quit of all impediment*," in oppoſition to the others incumbered with their heavy artillery.
NEWTON.

Training his deviliſh enginery, impal'd
On every ſide with ſhadowing ſquadrons deep,
To hide the fraud. At interview both ſtood
A while; but ſuddenly at head appear'd
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.
Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may ſee who hate us, how we ſeek
Peace and compoſure, and with open breaſt
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverſe:
But that I doubt; however witneſs Heaven!
Heaven, witneſs thou anon! while we diſcharge
Freely our part: ye, who appointed ſtand,
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear!
So ſcoffing in ambiguous words, he ſcarce

Ver. 553. Training *his deviliſh enginery*,] *Drawing in train*, from the term, *train of artillery*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————————— impal'd
On every ſide &c.] Surrounded, encircled. So, in his *Hiſt. of Eng.* B. ii, "The legioniaries ſtood thick in order, *impaled* with light-armed; the horſe on either wing." See alſo before, B. ii. 647, "*impal'd* with circling fire."

Ver. 568. *So ſcoffing in ambiguous words*, &c.] We cannot pretend entirely to juſtify this *punning* ſcene: But we ſhould conſider, that there is very little of this kind of wit any where in the poem but in this place; and in this we may ſuppoſe Milton to have ſacrificed to the taſte of his times, when *puns* were better reliſhed than they are at preſent in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and faſtidious in this particular. It is certain the Ancients practiſed them more both in their converſation, and in their writings; and Ariſtotle

Had ended; when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retir'd:
Which to our eyes diſcover'd, new and ſtrange,
A triple mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars moſt they ſeem'd,

recommends them in his book of Rhetorick, and likewiſe Cicero in his treatiſe of Oratory; and if we ſhould condemn them abſolutely, we muſt condemn half of the good ſayings of the greateſt wits of Greece and Rome. They are leſs proper indeed in ſerious works, and not at all becoming the majeſty of an epick poem; but our author ſeems to have been betrayed into this exceſs, in great meaſure, by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jeſting and inſulting one another, is not unlike ſome paſſages in the 16th book of the Iliad. Æneas throws a ſpear at Meriones; and, he artfully avoiding it, Æneas jeſts upon his *dancing*, the Cretans (the countrymen of Meriones) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the ſame book, Patroclus kills Hector's charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which Patroclus inſults him for ſeveral lines together upon his ſkill in *diving*, and ſays that, if he was at ſea, he might catch excellent oyſters.

Milton's jeſts cannot be lower and more trivial than theſe; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remembered that he is like him in his beauties too. And Mr. Thyer farther obſerves, that Milton is the leſs to be blamed for this punning ſcene, when one conſiders the characters of the ſpeakers; ſuch kind of inſulting wit being moſt peculiar to proud contemptuous Spirits. NEWTON.

This punning ſcene has been much cenſured. Yet it ſhould be conſidered, that there is a great difference betwixt the delicacy of Attick wit, and the proud malignant ſcoffing of devils. Good-humour and pleaſantry do not agree with the character of Satan. And, when Belial imitates him in v. 621, where the raillery is ſo coarſe, is it not juſt that his malice and impiety ſhould be repreſented greater than his wit? GILLIES.

Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd,)
Braſs, iron, ſtony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
Portending hollow truce: At each behind
A Seraph ſtood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire; while we, ſuſpenſe,

Ver. 574. *Or hollow'd bodies* &c.] We muſt carefully preſerve the parentheſis here, as Milton himſelf has put it. The conſtruction then will be, "*Which to our eyes diſcover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels*, of *braſs*, *iron*, *ſtony mould* or ſubſtance, *had not their mouths gap'd wide*, and ſhow'd that they were not pillars;" the intermediate words containing a reaſon why he called them *pillars* (*for like to pillars moſt they ſeem'd or hollow'd bodies* &c.) being included in a parentheſis. NEWTON.

Ver. 576. *Braſs, iron, ſtony mould,*] *Mould* here ſignifies ſubſtance as in B. ii. 355. But Dr. Bentley by reading *caſt in mould* changes the ſenſe of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he ſays) he has rid the poem of *ſtone cannon*: but ſuch cannon have been heard of elſewhere, and are now to be ſeen (I think) at Delft in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been uſed in war, may be queſtioned: but it is probable that Milton, by ſeeing ſuch *ſtone cannon* in foreign countries, was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. PEARCE.

We read before that theſe Angels *digg'd up veins of mineral and ſtone*, ver. 517; and that may account for the *braſs*, *iron*, *ſtony* ſubſtance here. NEWTON.

Ver. 578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himſelf cannot help continuing the pun. NEWTON.

Ver. 580. Stood *waving*] This muſt certainly be an errour of the preſs, occaſioned by *ſtood* in the line before, or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his ſecond edition. Dr. Bentley reads

——— "and in his hand a reed
"*Held* waving tipt with fire;"

Collected ſtood within our thoughts amus'd,
Not long; for ſudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
With niceſt touch. Immediate in a flame,
But ſoon obſcur'd with ſmoke, all Heaven appear'd,
From thoſe deep-throated engines belch'd, whoſe roar

and we ſhould ſubſtitute ſome ſuch word as this, as it makes better ſenſe, as well as avoids the repetition of *ſtood* three times ſo near together. NEWTON.

Ver. 584. ——— *Immediate in a flame*, &c.] Compare the diſcharge of cannon, in Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. ix. ſt. 75.

" Dietro lampeggia a guiſa di baleno;
" Dinanzi ſcoppia, e manda in aria il tuono;
" Treman le mura, e ſotto i piè il terreno;
" Il ciel rimbomba al paventoſo ſuono:
" L' ardente ſtral, che ſpezza, e venir meno
" Fa ciò, che incontra, e a neſſun dà perdono,
" Sibila, e ſtride."

And, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xxii, the diſcharge of cannon " violently ſhakes the earth's *intrayles*."

Ver. 586. ——— *deep-throated engines*] So Shakſpeare, in Othello, A. iii. S. iii.

" And O you mortal *engines*, whoſe rude *throats*
" The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit."
NEWTON.

See alſo Drummond's *Madrigals*, Edinb. 1616.

" When firſt the *Cannon*, from her *gaping throte*,
" Againſt the heauen her *roaring* ſulphure ſhote, &c."

Ibid. ——— ——— *whoſe roar* &c.] The moſt natural and obvious conſtruction is, " Whoſe roar embowell'd, or *fill'd*, the air with outrageous noiſe:" But to this it is ob-

Embowell'd with outrageous noiſe the air,
And all her entrails tore, diſgorging foul
Their deviliſh glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes; which, on the victor hoſt
Levell'd, with ſuch impetuous fury ſmote,
That, whom they hit, none on their feet might ſtand,
Though ſtanding elſe as rocks, but down they fell
By thouſands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd;
The ſooner for their arms; unarm'd, they might
Have eaſily, as Spirits, evaded ſwift
By quick contraction or remove; but now
Foul diſſipation follow'd, and forc'd rout;

jected, that it is as much as to ſay, *the roar filled the air with roar.* Neither do I ſee how the matter is much mended, by ſaying, with Dr. Pearce, that "The roar of cannon, embowell'd with roar, tore the air &c." The cannon, I think, cannot themſelves be properly ſaid to be embowell'd with-noiſe, though they might embowel with noiſe the air.

I would therefore endeavour to juſtify this by other ſimilar paſſages. It is uſual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itſelf: And as in B. ii. 654 we have "*a cry of Hell-hounds*" for the Hell-hounds themſelves; ſo here we have "*the roar of cannon*" for the cannon themſelves; and the *roar* of cannon may as properly be ſaid to embowel the air *with outrageous noiſe*, as a *cry* of Hell-hounds to *bark*. NEWTON.

Ver. 592. *That, whom they hit*, &c.] This paſſage is as much ſuperiour to Taſſo's, as the Angels are in their nature to man. Fairfax, B. xi. ſt. 60.

—— "With good fortune ſo their blowes they give,
"*That whom they hit*, in ſpite of helme or targe,
"They deeply wounde, or elſe of life deprive."

BOWLE.

Nor ſerv'd it to relax their ſerried files.
What ſhould they do? if on they ruſh'd, repulſe
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubled, would render them yet more deſpis'd,
And to their foes a laughter; for in view
Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
In poſture to diſplode their ſecond tire
Of thunder: Back defeated to return
They worſe abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in deriſion call'd.
O Friends! why come not on theſe victors proud?
Ere while they fierce were coming; and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front
And breaſt, (what could we more?) propounded terms
Of compoſition, ſtraight they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into ſtrange vagaries fell,
As they would dance; yet for a dance they ſeem'd
Somewhat extravagant and wild; perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace: But I ſuppoſe,
If our propoſals once again were heard,
We ſhould compel them to a quick reſult.
To whom thus Belial, in like gameſome mood.

Ver. 599. ——————— *their* ſerried *files.*] The Italian word *ferrata*, cloſe, compact. THYER.

Ver. 620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the character of *Belial* in the firſt and ſecond books, and Addiſon's remarks upon it, will eaſily ſee the propriety of making *Belial*

Leader! the terms we ſent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home;
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And ſtumbled many: Who receives them right,
Had need from head to foot well underſtand;
Not underſtood, this gift they have beſides,
They ſhow us when our foes walk not upright.
So they among themſelves in pleaſant vein
Stood ſcoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
All doubt of victory: Eternal Might
To match with their inventions they preſum'd
So eaſy, and of his thunder made a ſcorn,
And all his hoſt derided, while they ſtood
A while in trouble: But they ſtood not long;
Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
Againſt ſuch helliſh miſchief fit to oppoſe.
Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd!)
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
(For Earth hath this variety from Heaven
Of pleaſure ſituate in hill and dale,)

reply to Satan upon this occaſion, and in this ſportive manner, rather than *Beel-zebub*, or *Moloch*, or any of the evil Angels. NEWTON.

Ver. 625. *Had need from head to foot well* underſtand;
Not underſtood, *this gift they have* &c.] This miſerable equivocation has been adopted from Shakſpeare, *Two Gent. Verona*, A. ii. S. v. "My ſtaff *underſtands* me, &c." JOHNSON.

Ver. 635. *Rage* —— *found them arms*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 150. "*Furor arma miniſtrat.*" NEWTON.

Light as the lightning glimpſe they ran, they flew;
From their foundations looſening to and fro,
They pluck'd the ſeated hills, with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the ſhaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amaze,
Be ſure, and terrour, ſeis'd the rebel hoſt,
When coming towards them ſo dread they ſaw
The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
Till on thoſe curſed engines' triple-row
They ſaw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
Themſelves invaded next, and on their heads
Main promontories flung, which in the air
Came ſhadowing, and oppreſs'd whole legions arm'd;
Their armour help'd their harm, cruſh'd in and bruis'd

Ver. 645. ——— *by the* ſhaggy tops] So, in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* ed. ſupr. p. 30.

"In ſhady foreſts from their *ſhaggy top.*"

And thus, in *Lycidas*, v. 54.

"Nor on the *ſhaggy top* of Mona high."

Glover has copied the expreſſion, *Leonidas*, B. ii. 165.

"Or thoſe tall cliffs erect their *ſhaggy tops.*"

Ver. 646. *Uplifting bore them in their hands:*] Heſiod, *Theog.* v. 673.

Οἱ τότε Τιτῆσσι παρίσταθεν ἐν δαὶ λυγρῇ,
Πέτρας ἠλιβάτους ῥιπαῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

Ver. 656. *Their* armour *help'd their* harm,] Somewhat like that in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 27.

"That erſt him goodly *arm'd*, now moſt of all him *harm'd.*"

NEWTON.

Into their ſubſtance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan;
Long ſtruggling underneath, ere they could wind
Out of ſuch priſon, though Spirits of pureſt light,
Pureſt at firſt, now groſs by ſinning grown.
The reſt, in imitation, to like arms
Betook them, and the neighbouring hills uptore:
So hills amid the air encounter'd hills,
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire;
That under ground they fought in diſmal ſhade;

Ver. 661. ——— *now groſs by ſinning grown.*] What a fine moral does Milton here inculcate, and indeed quite through this book, by ſhowing that all the weakneſs and pain of the rebel Angels was the natural conſequence of their ſinning! And, I believe, one may obſerve in general of our author, that he is ſcarcely ever ſo far hurried on by the fire of his Muſe, as to forget the main end of all good writing, the recommendation of virtue and religion. THYER.

Ver. 666. *That under ground they fought in diſmal ſhade;*] It was a memorable ſaying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Perſian arrows would obſcure the ſun; *why then*, ſays he, *we ſhall fight in the ſhade.* I ſuppoſe that Statius alluded to this ſtory in the following bold lines, *Thebaid.* viii. 412.

" Excluſere diem telis, ſtant ferrea cœlo
" Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus ſufficit aër."

But what was a ſhade of *arrows* to a ſhade of *mountains* hurled to and fro, and encountering in mid air! This was *infernal noiſe* indeed, and making almoſt a Hell of Heaven. Such was the uproar in Hell, B. ii. 539.

" Others with vaſt Typhœan rage more fell
" Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
" In whirlwind; Hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar."

NEWTON.

Infernal noiſe! war ſeem'd a civil game
To this uproar; horrid confuſion heap'd
Upon confuſion roſe: And now all Heaven
Had gone to wrack, with ruin overſpread;
Had not the Almighty Father, where he ſits
Shrin'd in his ſanctuary of Heaven ſecure,
Conſulting on the ſum of things, foreſeen
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:

Ver. 669. ——————— *and now all Heaven*
Had gone to wrack,——] It is remarked by the criticks in praiſe of Homer's battles, that they riſe in horrour one above another to the end of the Iliad. The ſame may be ſaid of Milton's battles. In the firſt day's engagement, when they fought under a cope of fire with burning arrows, it was ſaid

——————" all Heaven
" Reſounded; and, had Earth been then, all Earth
" Had to her center ſhook."

But now, when they fought with mountains and promontories, it is ſaid *All Heaven had gone to wrack*, had not the Almighty Father interpoſed, and ſent forth his Son, in the fulneſs of the divine glory and majeſty, to expel the rebel Angels out of Heaven. Homer's *Iliad*, viii. 130.

Ἔνθα κε λοιγὸς ἦεν, καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο·
Εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

NEWTON.

Ver. 673. *Conſulting on the* ſum of things,] An expreſſion, adopted by Pope, *Iliad* xiii. 929.

" Here ceaſe thy fury; and, the chiefs and kings
" Convok'd to council, weigh the *ſum of things*."

Ver. 674. ——————— *advis'd:*] Is here a participle adverbial, and very elegant; it means adviſedly, deſignedly; the ſame with the Latin *conſulto* or *prudens*, as in Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 21.

" Nequicquam Deus abſcidit
" *Prudens* Oceano diſſociabili
" Terras." RICHARDSON.

That his great purpoſe he might ſo fulfil,
To honour his anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All power on him transferr'd: Whence to his Son,
The Aſſeſſour of his throne, he thus began.
Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son, in whoſe face inviſible is beheld
Viſibly, what by Deity I am;
And in whoſe hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence! two days are paſt,
Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,
Since Michael and his Powers went forth to tame
Theſe diſobedient: Sore hath been their fight,
As likelieſt was, when two ſuch foes met arm'd;
For to themſelves I left them; and thou know'ſt,
Equal in their creation they were form'd,
Save what ſin hath impair'd; which yet hath wrought

Ver. 679. *The* Aſſeſſour *of his throne,*] So the Son is called, in ſome of the Fathers, ΠΑΡΕΔΡΟΣ Θεοῦ, Dei *Aſſeſſor.* NEWTON.

Ver. 681. *Son, in whoſe face* inviſible *is beheld*
Viſibly, what by Deity I am;] It ſhould be "*the inviſible,*" ΤΟ 'ΑΟΡΑΤΟΝ, κατ' ἐξοχήν. *Coloſſ.* i. 15. "Who is the image of *the inviſible* God." So, in B. iii. 385.

"In whoſe conſpicuous countenance, without cloud
"Made viſible, *the Almighty Father ſhines.*" UPTON.

Inviſible here is a neuter adjective, uſed for a ſubſtantive. NEWTON.

Ver. 691. ——— *which yet hath wrought*
Inſenſibly,] This word doth not ſeem well to

Inſenſibly, for I ſuſpend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs muſt laſt
Endleſs, and no Solution will be found:
War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,
And to diſorder'd rage let looſe the reins,
With mountains, as with weapons, arm'd; which makes
Wild work in Heaven, and dangerous to the main.
Two days are therefore paſt, the third is thine;
For thee I have ordain'd it; and thus far
Have ſuffer'd, that the glory may be thine

conſiſt with that alteration, which the Angel had juſt before ſaid that ſin had wrought in the fallen Angels. THYER.

The ſame difficulty ſtuck with me at firſt; but, I ſuppoſe, the author meant that the manner in which ſin wrought was *inſenſible*, not the effects. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And indeed within the compaſs of this one book we have all the variety of battles that can well be conceived. We have a ſingle combat, and a general engagement. The firſt day's fight is with darts and ſwords, in imitation of the ancients; the ſecond day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the moderns; but the images in both are raiſed proportionably to the ſuperiour nature of the beings here deſcribed. And, when the poet has briefly compriſed all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourſe to the fiction of the poets in their deſcriptions of the giants war with the Gods. And, when *war hath* thus *perform'd what war can do*, he riſes ſtill higher, and the Son of God is ſent forth in the majeſty of the Almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture; ſo much doth the ſublimity of Holy Writ tranſcend all that is true, and all that is feigned, in deſcription. NEWTON.

Of ending this great war, ſince none but Thou
Can end it. Into thee ſuch virtue and grace
Immenſe I have transfus'd, that all may know
In Heaven and Hell thy power above compare;
And, this perverſe commotion govern'd thus,
To manifeſt thee worthieſt to be Heir
Of all things; to be Heir, and to be King
By ſacred unction, thy deſerved right.
Go then, Thou Mightieſt, in thy Father's might;
Aſcend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That ſhake Heaven's baſis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms

Ver. 709. *By ſacred unction,*] *Pſalm* xlv. 7. "God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladneſs above thy fellows."
GILLIES.

Ver. 711. ——— *guide the rapid* wheels
That ſhake Heaven's baſis,] Thus before, B. iii. 394.

——"thy flaming *chariot-wheels, that ſhook*
"*Heaven's* everlaſting frame"——

Again, v. 832 of this book;

——"*under his* burning *wheels*
"The *ſtedfaſt empyrean ſhook* throughout"——

Ver. 713. ——— *my almighty arms*
Gird on, and ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh:] Pſalm xlv. 3, 4. "Gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, O moſt mighty, with thy glory and thy majeſty: And in thy majeſty ride proſperouſly." NEWTON.

How ſuperiour is this direction to that which Achilles gives Patroclus, when he lends him his armour, in order to lead on the Greeks to battle, *Iliad* xvi. 64, 65.

Gird on, and ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh;
Purſue theſe ſons of darkneſs, drive them out
From all Heaven's bounds into the utter deep:
There let them learn, as likes them, to deſpiſe
God, and Meſſiah his anointed King.

He ſaid, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full expreſs'd
Ineffably into his face receiv'd;
And thus the Filial Godhead anſwering ſpake.

O Father, O Supreme of heavenly Thrones,
Firſt, Higheſt, Holieſt, Beſt; thou always ſeek'ſt
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is moſt juſt: This I my glory account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou, in me well pleas'd, declar'ſt thy will
Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliſs.
Scepter and power, thy giving, I aſſume,
And gladlier ſhall reſign, when in the end

Ver. 714. ——— *and ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh:*] A great man obſerved to me, that the ſentence falls in this place, and that it may be improved by reading and pointing the whole paſſage thus;

" ——————— bring forth all my war,
" My bow and thunder, my almighty arms;
" *And* gird *my* ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh."

NEWTON.

Milton, I think, intended the ſentence, as it ſtands in all the editions. The phraſe of *girding on the arms* being a cloſe imitation of the paſſage in Homer, to which I have before referred;

Τύνη δ' ὤμοιϊν μὲν ἐμὰ κλυτὰ ΤΕΥΧΕΑ ΔΥΘΙ.

Thou ſhalt be all in all, and I in thee
For ever; and in me all whom thou lov'ſt:
But whom thou hat'ſt, I hate, and can put on
Thy terrours, as I put thy mildneſs on,
Image of thee in all things; and ſhall ſoon,
Arm'd with thy might, rid Heaven of theſe rebell'd;
To their prepar'd ill manſion driven down,
To chains of darkneſs, and the undying worm;
That from thy juſt obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happineſs entire.
Then ſhall thy Saints unmix'd, and from the impure

Ver. 732. *Thou ſhalt be all in all,*] We may ſtill obſerve, that Milton generally makes the Divine Perſons talk in the ſtyle and language of Scripture. This paſſage is manifeſtly taken from I *Cor.* xv. 24, and 28. Immediately afterwards, when it is ſaid,

——————"*I in thee*
"*For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'ſt;*"

this is an alluſion to *John* xvii. 21, and 23.

And, when it is added,

"*But whom thou hat'ſt, I hate,*"

the alluſion is to *Pſalm* cxxxix. 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 737. —————*rid Heaven of theſe* rebell'd;] Of theſe *rebellious*, of theſe *who have rebell'd*; a remarkable expreſſion. NEWTON.

Ver. 739. *To chains of darkneſs,*] II *Pet.* ii. 4. "God ſpared not the angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to hell, and delivered them into *chains of darkneſs.*"

Ibid. —————*and the undying worm,*] *Mark*, ix. 44. "Their *worm dyeth not.*" HUME.

Far ſeparate, circling thy holy mount,
Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee ſing,
Hymns of high praiſe, and I among them Chief.
So ſaid, he, o'er his ſcepter bowing, roſe
From the right hand of Glory where he ſat;
And the third ſacred morn began to ſhine,

Ver. 746. *So ſaid, he, o'er his ſcepter bowing, roſe* &c.] The deſcription of the Meſſiah's going out againſt the rebel Angels is a ſcene of the ſame ſort with Heſiod's Jupiter againſt the Titans. They are both of them the moſt undoubted inſtances of the true ſublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determine. There is, I think, a greater profuſion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the ſuperiour character of a Chriſtian Meſſiah, which Milton has, with great judgement and majeſty, ſupported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the ſide of the Engliſh poet. THYER.

Ver. 748. *And the third ſacred morn* &c.] Milton, by continuing the war for three days, and reſerving the victory upon the third for the Meſſiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumſtances of his death and reſurrection. Our Saviour's extreme ſufferings on the one hand, and his heroick behaviour on the other, made the conteſt ſeem to be more equal and doubtful upon the firſt day; and on the ſecond Satan triumphed in the advantages he thought he had gained, when Chriſt lay buried in the earth, and was to outward appearance in an irrecoverable ſtate of corruption: But as the poet repreſents the Almighty Father ſpeaking to his Son, ver. 699.

" Two days are therefore paſt, the third is thine;
" For thee I have ordain'd it; and thus far
" Have ſuffer'd, that the glory may be thine
" Of ending this great war, ſince none but Thou
" Can end it."

Which he moſt gloriouſly did, when *the third ſacred morn began to ſhine*, by vanquiſhing with his own almighty arm the powers

Dawning through Heaven. Forth ruſh'd with whirlwind ſound
The chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flaſhing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itſelf inſtinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
By four Cherubick ſhapes; four faces each

of Hell, and riſing again from the grave; and thus as St. Paul ſays, *Rom.* i. 4. "He was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead." GREENWOOD.

Ibid. ——— *ſacred morn began to ſhine,*] Homer, *Il.* xi. v. 84. ἀἰξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ. BOWLE.

Ver. 749. ——— *Forth ruſh'd with whirlwind ſound*
The chariot of Paternal Deity, &c.] *Ezek.* i. 4. "And I looked, and, behold, a *whirlwind* came out of the north, a great cloud, and a *fire enfolding itſelf:*" Or perhaps Milton here drew Iſaiah likewiſe to his aſſiſtance, lxvi. 15. "For, behold, the *Lord will come with fire,* and *with his chariots like a whirlwind.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 751. ——— *wheel within wheel undrawn,*
Itſelf inſtinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
By four Cherubick ſhapes;] *Ezek.* i. 5, 16, 19, 20. "Alſo out of the midſt thereof came the likeneſs of *four living creatures,* and their appearance was as it were *a wheel in the middle of a wheel:* And, when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them; for the *ſpirit of the living creature was in the wheels.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 753. ——— *four faces each*
Had wonderous; as with ſtars, their bodies all
And wings were ſet with eyes; with eyes the wheels]
Ezek. i. 6. "And *every one had four faces.*" x. 12. "And *their whole body,* and *their wings,* and *the wheels,* were *full of eyes* round about." NEWTON.

Had wonderous; as with ſtars, their bodies all
And wings were ſet with eyes; with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and carcering fires between;
Over their heads a cryſtal firmament,
Whereon a ſapphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colours of the ſhowery arch.

Ver. 755. ——————— *the wheels*
Of beryl, *and* carcering *fires between*;] The *beryl* is a precious ſtone of a ſea-green colour, and *carcering* fires are lightnings *darting out by fits*, a metaphor taken from the running in tilts: See *Ezek.* i. 16, and 13. "The appearance of wheels and their work was *like a beryl*: And the fire was bright, and *out of the fire went forth lightning*." NEWTON.

Milton has again deſcribed this part of the prophetick viſion, and with additional ſublimity, ver. 848.

"One Spirit in them rul'd, and *every eye*
"*Glar'd lightning, and ſhot forth pernicious fire*
"Among the accurs'd——"

This is like the bold and tremendous painting of Æſchylus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 356. edit. Schütz.

Ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ' ἤστραπτε γοργωπὸν σέλας.

Ver. 757. *Over their heads a cryſtal firmament,*
Whereon a ſapphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colours of the ſhowery arch.] *Ezek.* i. 22, 26, 27, 28. "And the likeneſs of the *firmament upon the heads* of the living creatures, was as the colour of the terrible *cryſtal*, ſtretched forth over their heads above: And above the firmament, that was over their heads, was the likeneſs of a throne, as the appearance of a ſapphire ſtone: And I ſaw as the *colour of amber*, as the appearance of *the bow* that *is in the cloud in the day of rain*." NEWTON.

He, in celeſtial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Aſcended; at his right hand Victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; beſide him hung his bow
And quiver with three-bolted thunder ſtor'd;
And from about him fierce effuſion roll'd
Of ſmoke, and bickering flame, and ſparkles dire:
Attended with ten thouſand thouſand Saints,

Ver. 760. *He, in celeſtial panoply all arm'd*
Of radiant Urim,] An alluſion to *Epheſ.* vi. 11. "Put on the *whole armour* (πανοπλιαν) of God;" and to the contexture of gems in Aaron's breaſt-plate, *Exod.* xxviii. See alſo note, v. 527.

Fenton reads, and points, the two preceding lines, as follows:

"*Where, on* a ſapphire throne, (inlaid with pure
"Amber, and colours of the ſhowery arch)
"He, in celeſtial panoply &c."

Ver. 764. ——— *with* three-bolted thunder *ſtor'd,*] So, in his Epigr. *In inventorem bombardæ.*

"Et *trifidum fulmen* furripuiſſe Jovi."

Ver. 765. *And from about him fierce effuſion roll'd*
Of ſmoke, and bickering *flame, and ſparkles dire:*]
A furious tempeſt pouring forth ſmoke and *fighting* flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence deſtroying, of the Welſh *bicre*, a combat.

See *Pſalm* xviii. 8. "There went up a ſmoke out of his noſtrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured." And *Pſalm* l. 3. "A fire ſhall devour before him, and it ſhall be very tempeſtuous round about him." HUME.

Ver. 767. *Attended with ten thouſand thouſand Saints,*
He onward came: far off his coming ſhone;
And twenty thouſand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God,] *Jude*, 14. "Behold, the Lord

He onward came; far off his coming ſhone;
And twenty thouſand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God, half on each hand, were ſeen:
He on the wings of Cherub rode ſublime
On the cryſtálline ſky, in ſapphire thron'd,
Illuſtrious far and wide; but by his own
Firſt ſeen: Them unexpected joy ſurpris'd,
When the great enſign of Meſſiah blaz'd
Aloft by Angels borne, his ſign in Heaven;
Under whoſe conduct Michael ſoon reduc'd
His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
Under their Head imbodied all in one.
Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd;
At his command the uprooted hills retir'd

cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints." *Pſalm* lxviii. 17. "The chariots of God are twenty thouſand." *Rev.* vii. 4. "I heard the number of them."

Let it be remarked how much of his ſublimity, even in the ſublimeſt part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

NEWTON.

Ver. 771. *He on the wings of Cherub rode*] *Pſalm* xviii. 10. "He rode upon a Cherub &c." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 776. ——————— *his ſign*] The ſign of the croſs probably. GREENWOOD.

Matt. xxiv. 30. "Then ſhall appear the ſign of the Son of Man in Heaven." GILLIES.

Ver. 779. *Under their Head*] *Rom.* xii. 5. "We, being many, are *one body in Chriſt*." And *Col.* i. 18. "*He* is the *Head* of the body." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 781. *At his command* &c.] We frequently read in the Scriptures of hills and mountains trembling, and moving, at the preſence or the command of the Lord: But it is generally, if

Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
Obſequious; Heaven his wonted face renew'd,
And with freſh flowerets hill and valley ſmil'd.
This ſaw his hapleſs foes, but ſtood obdur'd,
And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers,
Inſenſate, hope conceiving from deſpair.
In heavenly Spirits could ſuch perverſeneſs dwell?
But to convince the proud what ſigns avail,
Or wonders move the obdurate to relent?
They, harden'd more by what might moſt reclaim,
Grieving to ſee his glory, at the ſight
Took envy; and, aſpiring to his highth,
Stood re-embattled fierce, by force or fraud
Weening to proſper, and at length prevail
Againſt God and Meſſiah, or to fall

not always, mentioned as the effect or proof of his high diſpleaſure. Here the poet lays hold of the ſame thought, and applies it as an inſtance of his great goodneſs, to *renew the wonted face of Heaven.* GREENWOOD.

Ver. 787. ——— *hope conceiving from deſpair.*] Imitated from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 354.

" Una ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem."

Or rather from Quintus Curtius, lib. v. cap. iv. " Ignaviam " quoque neceſſitas acuit, et *ſæpe deſperatio ſpei cauſa eſt.*"
NEWTON.

Ver. 788. *In heavenly Spirits could ſuch perverſeneſs dwell?*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 11.

——— " tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?" HUME.

Ver. 791. —— *harden'd more by what might moſt reclaim,*] As Pharaoh was, *Exod.* xiv. HUME.

In univerſal ruin laſt; and now
To final battle drew, diſdaining flight,
Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his hoſt on either hand thus ſpake.
Stand ſtill in bright array, ye Saints; here ſtand,
Ye Angels arm'd; this day from battle reſt:
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearleſs in his righteous cauſe;
And as ye have receiv'd, ſo have ye done,
Invincibly: But of this curſed crew
The puniſhment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whoſe he ſole appoints:
Number to this day's work is not ordain'd,
Nor multitude; ſtand only, and behold
God's indignation on theſe godleſs pour'd
By me; not you, but me, they have deſpis'd,
Yet envied; againſt me is all their rage,
Becauſe the Father, to whom in Heaven ſupreme
Kingdom, and power, and glory appertains,

Ver. 797. *In univerſal ruin* laſt;] Dr. Bentley reads *loſt*, but without any reaſon aſſigned for the alteration. Dr. Newton inclines, however, to admit this reading, or to conſider *laſt* as *at laſt*. It is remarkable, that Dr. Newton ſhould not have looked into Tickell's edition, where the alteration *loſt* appears; from which Bentley ſilently adopted it.

Ver. 801. *Stand ſtill* &c.] *Exod.* xiv. 13, 14. "Stand ſtill, and ſee the ſalvation of the Lord, which he will ſhow you to-day. —The Lord ſhall fight for you, and ye ſhall hold your peace." GILLIES.

Ver. 808. *Vengeance is his,*] *Deut.* xxxii. 35. "To me belongeth vengeance." And *Rom.* xii. 19. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, ſaith the Lord." NEWTON.

Hath honour'd me, according to his will.
Therefore to me their doom he hath aſſign'd;
That they may have their wiſh, to try with me
In battle which the ſtronger proves; they all,
Or I alone againſt them; ſince by ſtrength
They meaſure all, of other excellençe
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other ſtrife with them do I vouchſafe.
So ſpake the Son, and into terrour chang'd
His countenance too ſevere to be beheld,
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
At once the Four ſpread out their ſtarry wings
With dreadful ſhade contiguous, and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the ſound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous hoſt.
He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels

Ver. 826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verſe as mean and ſuperfluous. The ſenſe is, *He chang'd his countenance into terrour, and bent* it ſo chang'd and *full of wrath upon his enemies;* and I cannot ſee how this is either mean or ſuperfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this conſtruction—*his countenance too ſevere to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.* NEWTON.

Ver. 827. *At once the Four* &c.] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim, and the Meſſiah's chariot, he ſtill copies from Ezekiel's viſion. See Ch. i. 9, 19, 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 832. *Gloomy as night;*] From Homer, *Iliad* xii. 462, where the tranſlator uſes Milton's words:

Νυκτὶ ἐοῖ ἀτάλαντος ὑπώπια.

A ſimilar expreſſion, tranſlated in theſe words of Milton, is alſo in *Odyſſ.* xi. 605. NEWTON.

The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,
All but the throne itſelf of God. Full ſoon
Among them he arriv'd; in his right hand
Graſping ten thouſand thunders, which he ſent
Before him, ſuch as in their ſouls infix'd
Plagues: They, aſtoniſh'd, all reſiſtance loſt,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropt:
O'er ſhields, and helms, and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim proſtráte,

Ver. 832. ——— *under his burning wheels*
The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,] *Job*, xxvi. 11. "The pillars of heaven tremble, and are aſtoniſhed at his reproof." HUME.

This ſublime paſſage owes part of its magnificence to another ſacred deſcription: *Daniel*, vii. 9. of the *Ancient of Days*. "His throne was as the fiery flame, and his *wheels* as *burning fire*."

Milton's diction is here ſuperiour even to Heſiod's celebrated lines, *Theog.* v. 841.

Πασσὶ, δ' ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι μίγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος
Ὀρνυμένοιο ἄνακτος· ἐπιστεναχίζε δὲ γαῖα.

The majeſty of the exception, which Milton adds, affords to the whole paſſage a ſolemnity unparallelled, and inimitable:

——— "under his burning wheels
"The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,
"All BUT *the throne itſelf of God*."

Ver. 841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim* proſtráte,] Milton commonly pronounces this word with the accent on the firſt ſyllable; but here he follows Fairfax and Spenſer in placing the accent upon the laſt ſyllable: *Taſſo*, c. i. ſt. 83.

"He heard the weſtern Lords would undermine
"His cities wall, and lay his towres *proſtráte*."

Faery Queen, iii. xii. 39.

"Before fair Britomart ſhe fell *proſtráte*." NEWTON.

That wiſh'd the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them, as a ſhelter from his ire.
Nor leſs on either ſide tempeſtuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold-viſag'd Four
Diſtinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
Diſtinct alike with multitude of eyes;
One Spirit in them rul'd; and every eye
Glar'd lightning, and ſhot forth pernicious fire
Among the accurs'd, that wither'd all their ſtrength,
And of their wonted vigour left them drain'd,
Exhauſted, ſpiritleſs, afflicted, fall'n.
Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth, but check'd

Ver. 842. *That wiſh'd the mountains* &c.] *Rev.* vi. 16. "They ſaid to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:" Which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains, v. 655. What was ſo terrible before, they *wiſhed as a ſhelter* now. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ——— *that wither'd all their ſtrength,*] Dryden, in his *Theodore and Honoria*, has copied this expreſſion, v. 285;

"Then on the crowd he caſt a furious look,
"And *wither'd all their ſtrength* before he ſpoke."

So has Pope, *Iliad* viii. 96.

"*Their ſtrength he withers*, and unmans their ſouls."

Ver. 853. *Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth,*] This fine thought is ſomewhat like that of the Pſalmiſt, lxxviii. 38. "But he, being full of compaſſion, forgave their iniquity, and deſtroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and *did not ſtir up all his wrath.*" And it greatly exceeds Heſiod, who makes Jupiter, upon a like occaſion, exert *all* his ſtrength, *Theog.* 687.

His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
Not to deſtroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855
The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd

Οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι Ζεὺς ἶσχεν ἐὸν μένος· ἀλλά νυ τεῦγε
Εἴθαρ μὲν μένιος πλῆντο φρένες, ἐκ δέ τε πᾶσαν
Φλὸξ βίπτε. NEWTON.

Ver. 856. ——————— *and as a herd*
Of goats &c.] It may ſeem ſtrange that our author, amidſt ſo many ſublime images, ſhould intermix ſo low a compariſon as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have ſome remarkable inſtances in the ſecond book of the *Iliad*, where, in a pompous deſcription of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidſt the glare of ſeveral noble ſimilitudes, they are compared for their number to *flies about a ſhepherd's cottage, when the milk moiſtens the pails*; and, after he has compared Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may obſerve, to the advantage of our author, that this low ſimile is not applied as Homer's are, to the perſons he meant to honour, but to the contrary party; and the lower the compariſon, the more it expreſſes their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the ſimilitude of *goats* particularly, becauſe our Saviour repreſents the wicked under the ſame image, as the good are called *the ſheep*, Mat. xxv. 33. "*And he ſhall ſet the ſheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.*" For which reaſon Dr. Pearce is of opinion that, by a *timorous flock*, are not meant ſheep but deer; that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has *timidi damæ* twice at leaſt. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagine) might have ſaid not *or* but *a timorous flock*; *and as a herd of goats* a *timorous flock*. But he would hardly have called the ſame *a herd of goats*, and then a *flock* immediately afterwards; neither would he have uſed the expreſſion of *timorous flock* for a herd of deer in contradiſtinction to a herd of goats, though it is a proper phraſe for ſheep, which ſeem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable, that, in the heighth and fury of his deſcrip-

Drove them before him thunder-ſtruck, purſued
With terrours, and with furies, to the bounds
And cryſtal wall of Heaven; which, opening wide,
Roll'd inward, and a ſpacious gap diſclos'd
Into the waſteful deep: The monſtrous ſight
Struck them with horrour backward, but far worſe
Urg'd them behind: Headlong themſelves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven; eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomleſs pit.
Hell heard the unſufferable noiſe, Hell ſaw
Heaven ruining from Heaven, and would have fled

tion, he did not attend to the minuteneſs of that figurative diſtinction between goats and ſheep, however beautiful it may be in its proper place: or, if he had deſigned it, he would have avoided the ambiguity of ſuch a word as *flock*, which ſeems improper either to goats or deer. NEWTON.

Ver. 859. *With terrours, and with furies,*] *Job*, vi. 4. "The *terrours* of God do ſet themſelves in array againſt me:" And the *fury* of the Lord, is a common expreſſion in Scripture. "They are full of the *fury* of the Lord," *Iſaiah* li. 20. And Virgil frequently uſes *furiæ* for ſuch frights, and diſturbances of mind, as drive perſons to madneſs: See *Georg.* iii. 511, *Æn.* i. 41, iv. 376, 474, &c. So the word ſeems to be uſed here. NEWTON.

Ver. 865. ——————— *eternal* wrath
Burnt *after them to the bottomleſs pit.*] Pope, *Iliad* xv. 252.

"Elſe had my *wrath*, heaven's thrones all ſhaking round,
"*Burn'd* to the bottom of his ſeas profound."

Ver. 868. *Heaven* ruining *from Heaven,*] The word *ruining* in this place is the Italian word *ruinando* angliciſed, which ex-

Affrighted; but ſtrict Fate had caſt too deep
Her dark foundations, and too faſt had bound.
Nine days they fell: Confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, ſo huge a rout
Incumber'd him with ruin: Hell at laſt

preſſes in the ſtrongeſt manner the idea which the author wants to convey; as it denotes any thing falling down with ruin and precipitation. To give one inſtance out of a thouſand. Taſſo, *Gier. Liberata*, cant. ix. ſt. 39.

" Come ne l' Apennin robuſta pianta,
" Che ſprezzò d'Euro, e d' Aquilon la guerra,
" Se turbo inuſitato al fin la ſchianta,
" Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra."

The following inſtance may be added too from Marino, *Adon.* Cant. i. ſt. 36.

" E *ruinando* dal' etherea mole." THYER.

Ver. 871. *Nine days they fell:*] So, in B. i. 50.

" Nine times the ſpace that meaſures day and night &c."

Thus, in the firſt *Iliad*, the plague continues nine days. But, poſſibly, Milton alludes to Heſiod's deſcription of the fall of the Titans, *Theog.* v. 722.

Ἐνία γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα κ. τ. λ. NEWTON.

It is moſt probable, that Milton here alluded to Heſiod; as, in the following deſcription of *Chaos roaring*, &c. his attention to the ſame poet may be obſerved, *Theog.* v. 681.

——————Ἔνοσις δ' ἴκανε βαρεῖα
Τάρταρον ἠρόεντα, ποδῶν αἰπεῖά τ' ἰωὴ
Ἀσπέτου ἰωχμοῖο, βολάων τε κρατεράων.

Ver. 874. Incumber'd *him with ruin:*] This too, like the word *ruining* in v. 868, muſt be taken in its Italian ſignification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expreſſes the utmoſt embarraſſment and confuſion: But *incumber'd*, though plainly the ſame

Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd;
Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the houſe of woe and pain.
Diſburden'd Heaven rejoic'd, and ſoon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
Sole victor, from the expulſion of his foes,

word, in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpoſe in this verſe. THYER.

Ibid. ——————— *Hell at laſt*
Yawning received them whole, and on them clos'd;] This is a fine imitation of *Iſaiah*, v. 14. "Therefore *Hell* hath enlarged herſelf, and *opened her mouth without meaſure:* And their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, ſhall deſcend into it." See alſo P. Fletcher, *Purp. Iſland*, c. vii. ſt. 45. edit. 1633.

"Under, *Hell widely yawn'd;* and, over, flew Damnation."

Ver. 876. *Hell their fit habitation* ——
——— *the houſe of woe and pain.*] Very like that in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. ix. ſt. 59.

"Fit houſe for them, the houſe of grief and pain."

An inſtance this, and there are others, that Milton made uſe of the tranſlation of Taſſo, as well as of the original. NEWTON.

Ver. 878. *Diſburden'd Heaven rejoic'd,*] So Taſſo, when Michael has driven the infernal Spirits to Hell, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. ſt. 66.

"Liberato da lor quella sì negra
"Faccia depone il mondo, e ſi rallegra." THYER.

Ver. 879. ——— returning *whence it roll'd.*] *Returning* is to be joined in conſtruction with *Heaven*, and not with *breach*. Heaven returned to its place: But the expreſſion is not very accurate, *Heaven repaired* her *mural breach, and returned whence* it *rolled*. NEWTON.

Meſſiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who ſilent ſtood
Eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc'd; and, as they went,
Shaded with branching palm, each Order bright,
Sung triumph, and him ſung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthieſt to reign: He, celebrated, rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts
And temple of his Mighty Father thron'd
On high; who into glory him receiv'd,
Where now he ſits at the right hand of bliſs.
Thus, meaſuring things in Heaven by things on Earth,

Ver. 888. *Worthieſt to reign:*] The Angels here ſing the ſame divine ſong which St. John heard them ſing in his viſion, *Rev.* iv. 11. NEWTON.

Ver. 891. ——— *who into glory him receiv'd,*
Where now he ſits at the right hand of bliſs.] I *Tim.* iii. 16. "Received up into glory." And *Heb.* i. 3. "Sat down on the right hand of the Majeſty on high." GILLIES.

Ver. 893. *Thus, meaſuring things in Heaven by things on earth,* &c.] He repeats the ſame kind of apology here in the concluſion, that he made in the beginning of his narration. See B. v. 573, &c.

"By likening ſpiritual to corporeal forms, &c."

And it is indeed the beſt defence that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which though ſome cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldeſt, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the heighth and ſublimity of the reſt of this book deſcends here at

At thy requeſt, and that thou may'ſt beware
By what is paſt, to thee I have reveal'd
What might have elſe to human race been hid;
The diſcord which befel, and war in Heaven
Among the angelick Powers, and the deep fall
Of thoſe too high aſpiring, who rebell'd
With Satan; he who envies now thy ſtate,
Who now is plotting how he may ſeduce
Thee alſo from obedience, that, with him
Bereav'd of happineſs, thou may'ſt partake
His puniſhment, eternal miſery;
Which would be all his ſolace and revenge,
As a deſpite done againſt the Moſt High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But liſten not to his temptations, warn

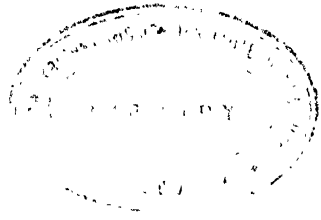
the cloſe of it, like the lark from her loftieſt notes in the clouds, to the moſt proſaick ſimplicity of language and numbers; a ſimplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greateſt majeſty, as Milton himſelf ſeems to have thought, by always chooſing to give the ſpeeches of God and the Meſſiah in that ſtyle, though theſe I ſuppoſe are the parts of this Poem, which Dryden cenſures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together. NEWTON.

The reader cannot indeed but admire the dignity and emphaſis, with which the Angel's ſpeech concludes. The ſame brief ſentences, and ſolemn pauſes, may be obſerved in the fine moral inſtruction, which the heavenly meſſenger gives Adam, at the cloſe of the eighth book.

Ver. 900. *With Satan;* he *who envies now thy ſtate,*] The conſtruction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley obſerves: Or it may be underſtood, "he *is* who envies now thy ſtate." NEWTON.

Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard,
By terrible example, the reward
Of diſobedience; firm they might have ſtood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to tranſgreſs.

Ver. 909. *Thy weaker;*] As St. Peter calls the wife "*the weaker veſſel,*" I *Pet.* iii. 7. NEWTON.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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